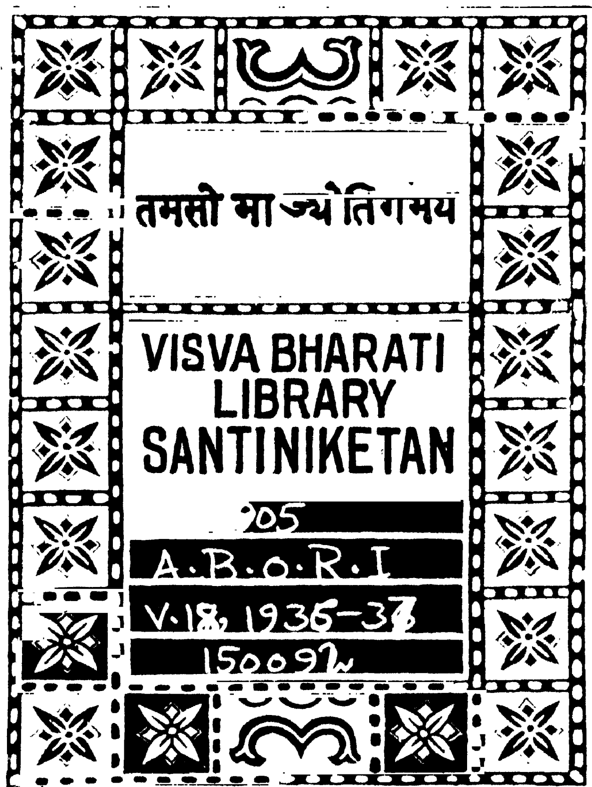


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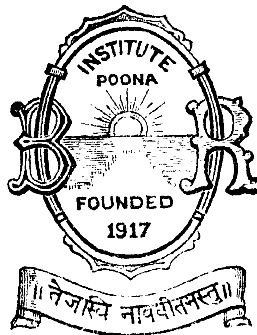
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EPIC STUDIES

BY

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

VI. THE BHRGUS AND THE BHĀRATA : A TEXT-HISTORICAL STUDY[1]

The Bhṛgus are unquestionably an interesting old clan.[2] Tempted by the tantalizing affinity between the Sanskrit name Bhṛgu and the Greek φλέγυ in the name of Φλεγύας and of the Φλεγύαι, A. Weber postulated a genetic connection between the Indian and the Greek names, and even ascribed Indo-germanic antiquity to a certain legend about Bhṛgu Vāruṇi preserved in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11. 6. 1), a legend of which he thought he had discovered a parallel in Greek mythology. The facile phonetic equation put up by Weber has not, however, commended itself to other scholars, and we are not specially concerned with it either. But it cannot be gainsaid that the clan is very ancient and that some of their legends are of hoary antiquity. There are scattered notices about the Bhṛgus to be found from the Vedic Saṁhitās onwards through the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad literature up to the Epics and the Purāṇas, steadily growing in volume and importance.

1 For the first instalment of the Series, cf. *JBBRAS* (*NS*). 4. 157ff. ; the following *four* have appeared in these *Annals*, vol. 11, pp. 165-191, 259-283; vol. 16, pp. 90-114 ; vol. 17, pp. 185-202.

2 The best general account of the Bhṛgus has been given by E. Sieg in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (edited by Hastings), s. v. " Bhṛigu ". For Vedic references see also Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, s. v. " Cyavana ", " Bhṛgu ", etc.

Not only is the clan ancient, its legends also are highly interesting. So suggestive in fact are the early myths of this clan that they had in former years engrossed the attention of many a student of Indian mythology, and called forth a variety of interpretations. Thus Bergaigne looked upon the Bhṛgu myth of the Ṛgveda as merely a more developed form of the early tradition about the descent of fire and identified Bhṛgu with Agni. A. Kuhn and A. Barth agreed in regarding the Bhṛgus as personifications of the lightning flash, and Kuhn tried to harmonize the Greek myth regarding the descent of fire with the Vedic. A. Weber, as already remarked, saw in a legend preserved in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa a relic of primitive Indo-germanic mythology. But even the later legends of these people are not without a certain amount of grandiosity. Just consider the figure of Paraśurāma : a matricide, annihilator of the Kṣatriyas and finally an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, all in one.

The popularity of the Paraśurāma legend in India is attested by the number of places, scattered all over India, which are associated with his name and his exploits and held sacred to his memory.[1] Near the Kangra District of the Panjab there is a very ancient temple dedicated to Paraśurāma, a name not yet applied to him in our epic. In the State of Udaipur there is a sacred pool where Rāma is said to have bathed and atoned for his sins. In the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency, an axe-shaped rock marks the spot where Rāma is represented as having washed his famous axe (*paraśu*), which has given him his nick-name Paraśurāma, Rāma-with-the-Axe. Even this irresistible axe of his has been deified, and there is in Mysore State a temple dedicated to it. Gokarṇa shows an old tank dedicated to Mahādeva, which is said to have been built by the son of Jamadagni. Even the Lakhimpur District of distant Assam has a pool to show to which, according to popular belief, Paraśurāma had surrendered his dreaded axe, and which attracts pilgrims from every part of India.

Notwithstanding the absorbing interest of the Bhārgava myths, it is primarily not their interpretation that is attempted here.

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1 Cf. Anujan Achan (citing the *Imperial Gazetteer*), *Paraśurāma Legend and its Significance*, p. 8 f. The paper was read at the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (Mysore 1935) and has since been published separately with the special sanction of the Government of Cochin.

That is a task fraught with difficulties and uncertainties, as also one for which the present writer feels he is not adequately equipped. The modest aim of this paper is to collect and collate the Bhārgava references in the Mahābhārata, in other words, to give a succinct account of all that the Great Epic of India has to say about the Bhṛgus. The choice of the source-book is abundantly justified, because the Mahābhārata, as I believe, is the richest mine for the exploration of the Bhārgava material, a veritable thesaurus of Bhārgava legends, containing as it does the largest number and the greatest variety of such legends. Even this material is not entirely new, having already attracted the attention of scholars, but it seemed to me that it has not been studied with that degree of attention to details which it deserves. It is a trite observation but it is nevertheless true that even what appears on the face of it to be a most insignificant detail might be found to yield a valuable clue if looked at from the correct angle, which is often difficult to get. I therefore propose to re-examine here the Bhārgava references in our Great Epic in considerable detail, subjecting them to a critical analysis.

My intention is to pass under review here all the myths and legends relating to the different Bhṛgus, which occur in the Mahābhārata, study the manner in which they are presented, investigate their repetitions and even discrepancies. We shall find that there are many more Bhārgavas mentioned in our epic than commonly known and many more references to Bhārgavas than commonly suspected.

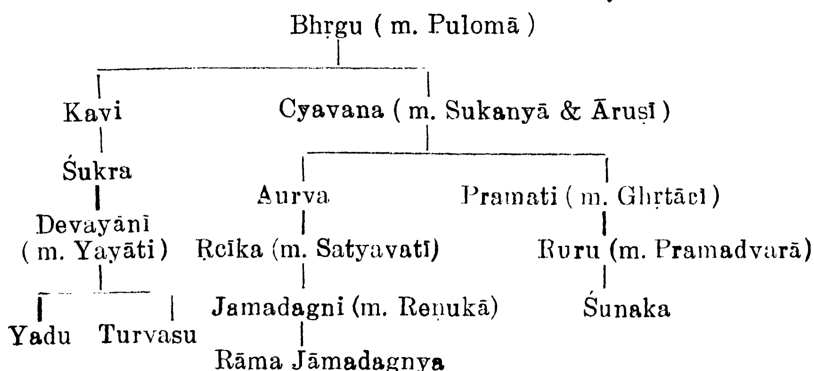
In essence, it must be admitted, this is merely a text-critical study, a subject which, having engaged my attention for a numbr of years, has acquired considerable fascination for me. But at the end of the paper it is shown that the investigation might at the same time yield results which are not without general value for a partial elucidation of the obscure history of this venerable old text.

The Bhārgava references could have been presented here in many different ways, but it appeared best to take them up for study in the sequence in which they appear in our epic, to examine the material book by book and chapter by chapter. The total number of passages of the Mahābhārata in which the Bhārgavas are mentioned is astonishingly large. Exigencies of space,

however, compelled the writer to restrict himself to the discussion of only the more important of the references.

I add here a genealogical table which will enable the reader to follow the legends of the Bhṛgus and the discussions about them with greater ease. The table is made up from the data of the Mahābhārata itself, but it is undoubtedly not complete; it appears to be very much abridged, lacking many details and intermediate links.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE BHṚGUS



ĀDIPARVAN[1]

Strangely enough, already in the second chapter of the Ādiparvan, the Parvasaṁgraha, which is in fact, for the greater part of it, something like a Table of Contents, we make our acquaintance with one of the Bhārgavas, the most famous of them, Rāma Jāmadagnya,[2] not yet a full-fledged *avatāra*, a character which *in reality* has no connection whatsoever with the action of the sublime tragedy which is going to be unfolded in the epic. That comes about in this way. The place where the Mahābhārata war was fought, as everybody knows who knows anything at all about the war, was called Kurukṣetra (Gītā 1. 1):

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1 In the Ādiparvan, the references are to the *Critical Edition* of that book published by this Institute (Poona 1933); elsewhere to the *Vulgate*, the edition used being the Chitrashala edition (Poona 1929–1933). References to the Vulgate are distinguished by prefixing " B. " to them.

2 Special studies on Paraśurāma: Iravati Karwe, "The Paraśurāma Myth" in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. 1 (1932), pp. 115–139; and the paper by Anujan Achan cited above, *Purasurāma Legend and its Significance* (1935).

dharmakṣetre Kurukṣetre samavetā yuyutsavaḥ ।
māmakāḥ Pāṇḍavāś caiva .....

But the Sūta Ugraśravas, son of Lomaharṣaṇa, who recites the epic at the twelve-year sacrificial session held in the Naimiṣa Forest under the auspices of Śaunaka, gives the name of the place as Samantapañcaka and is careful enough to add that he had visited that sacred spot and was as a matter of fact just returning from it (1. 1. 11 f.):

Samantapañcakaṁ nāma puṇyaṁ dvijaniṣevitam ।
gatavān asmi taṁ deśaṁ yuddhaṁ yatrābhavat purā ।
Pāṇḍavānāṁ Kurūṇāṁ ca sarveṣāṁ ca mahīkṣitām ॥
didṛkṣur āgatas tasmāt samīpaṁ bhavatām iha ।

That obviously needed a little explication. Accordingly we find in the beginning of the second chapter a query about this Samantapañcaka from the sages who formed the audience. They want to know all about this new place of pilgrimage (1. 2. 1):

Samantapañcakam iti yad uktaṁ sūtanandana ।
etat sarvaṁ yathānyāyaṁ śrotum icchāmahe vayam ॥

And from the story narrated by the Sūta it proves to be a Bhārgava place of pilgrimage, situated probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kurukṣetra. It was in fact, as the Sūta proceeds to explain, the sacred spot where the Bhārgava Rāma, the foremost of weapon-bearers (*śastrabhṛtāṁ varaḥ* 1. 2. 3), after extirpating the warrior race during the interval between the Tretā and the Dvāpara Ages, had made five pools of blood, probably forming a circle (hence obviously Samantapañcaka), and standing in the middle offered the uncanny oblation of congealed blood to his forefathers, until the shades of the departed ancestors appeared before him and pacified him, giving him the boon that those sanguinary pools of his would become holy places of pilgrimage (1. 2. 3 ff.):

Tretādvāparayoḥ saṁdhau Rāmaḥ śastrabhṛtāṁ varaḥ ।
asakṛt pārthivaṁ kṣatraṁ jaghānāmarṣacoditaḥ ॥
sa sarvaṁ kṣatram utsādya svavīryeṇānaladyutiḥ ।
Samantapañcake pañca cakāra rudhirahradān ॥
sa teṣu rudhirāmbhaḥsu hradeṣu krodhamūrcchitaḥ ।
pitṝn saṁtarpayāmāsa rudhireṇeti naḥ śrutam ॥

A few stanzas later we read that the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war was also fought at this Samantapañcaka (1. 2. 9):

antare caiva saṁprāpte Kalidvāparayor abhūt ।
Samantapañcake yuddhaṁ Kuru-Pāṇḍavasenayoḥ ॥

Samantapañcaka is thus made out to be only another name of Kurukṣetra: evidently a Bhārgava name. The people of India have forgotten this Bhārgava synonym: they remember only Kurukṣetra, a name which has struck deep root in the memory of the people. Even now at every solar eclipse there is held at Kurukṣetra, a mammoth fair, which attracts hundreds of thousands of devout pilgrims,[1] hailing from the different corners of India, who reverently visit the spot hallowed by the blood of their beloved kings of yore, those shining examples of knighthood and chivalry, who counting their lives as straw fell fighting, waging a holy war (*dharmayuddha*), which has made the Kurukṣetra a *dharmakṣetra.*

In passing, it may be mentioned that this short account of the annihilation of the Kṣatriyas by the Brahmin Rāma Jāmadagnya—a very popular theme, as will be seen later on, with the redactors of our Mahābhārata—has been even amplified in later times by the interpolation of a short dialogue (of eight lines) between Rāma Jāmadagnya and his Bhārgava ancestors (Ādi 71*; cf. B. 3. 83. 29 ff.):

Rāma Rāma mahābhāga prītāḥ sma tava Bhārgava ।
anayā pitṛbhaktyā ca vikrameṇa ca te vibho ।
varaṁ vṛṇīṣva bhadraṁ te kim icchasi mahādyute ।
Rāma uvāca ।
yadi me pitaraḥ prītā yady anugrāhyatā mayi ।
yac ca roṣābhibhūtena kṣatram utsāditaṁ mayā । etc.

This passage, which is an abridged version of a dialogue occurring in the Tīrthayātrāparvan, a sub-section of the Āraṇyakaparvan, is found at this point only in certain Devanāgarī MSS. (including those of the "K" Version), and is missing in the Bengali MSS. as well as in the entire Southern recension, and therefore certainly suspect. We shall have occasion to mention other similar enlargements of Bhārgava anecdotes.

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[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 8 (1886), p. 374 f.

The next reference to the Bhārgava Rāma occurs in adhy. 58 of the Ādi, and the theme is the same. The chapter, as a matter of fact, describes the circumstances which led to the incarnation of the gods and goddesses of the Purāṇic pantheon on this earth of ours. But the account begins with an allusion to the great exploit of the Bhārgava Rāma, his total extirpation of the bad old kings of yore (1. 58. 4):

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivīṁ kṛtvā niḥkṣatriyāṁ purā ।
Jāmadagnyas tapas tepe Mahendre parvato'tame ॥ (I)

The first line of this stanza is worthy of special note. It occurs, with slight variations, over and over again in our Mahābhārata, its exultant note ringing like a distant echo in the remotest corners and crevices of this huge epos, which was composed by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana to spread in this world the fame of the high-souled Pāṇḍavas and of other puissant Kṣatriyas (1. 56. 25 f.):

Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyanenedaṁ kṛtaṁ puṇyacikīrṣuṇā ॥
kīrtiṁ prathayatā loke Pāṇḍavānāṁ mahātmanām ।
anyeṣām kṣatriyāṇāṁ ca bhūridraviṇatejasām ॥

When the Bhārgava Rāma, after making a clean sweep of the Kṣatriyas, retired to Mount Mahendra to practise austerities, there remained of the warrior caste only the females, and the Kṣatriya race was in imminent danger of becoming totally extinct (Ādi 58). When the earth was thus bereft of Kṣatriya manhood, the Kṣatriya women, casting aside their pride, approached the Brahmins for offsprings. With these Kṣatriya women cohabited the Brahmins of rigid vows of those times, in pity for their sad plight. They cohabited with the Kṣatriya women, not from passion, only in season, never out of season. Thus thousands of Kṣatriya women conceived from their intercourse with pious Brahmins. Their offsprings were the virtuous Kṣatriyas, who ushered in again the Golden Age. Thus sprang up a second Kṣatriya race from the surviving Kṣatriya women owing to their intercourse with ascetic Brahmins. The new generation, blessed with long life, throve in virtue. And there were again established the four castes, having Brahmins at their head (1. 58. 8, 10):

evaṁ tad brāhmaṇaiḥ kṣatraṁ kṣatriyāsu tapasvibhiḥ ।
jātam ṛdhyata dharmeṇa sudīrghenāyuṣānvitam ।
catvāro 'pi tadā varṇā babhūvur brāhmaṇottarāḥ ॥

....

tāḥ prajāḥ pṛthivīpāla dharmavrataparāyaṇāḥ ।
ādhibhir vyādhibhiś caiva vimuktāḥ sarvaśo narāḥ ॥

Later the Asuras, defeated by the gods and expelled from heaven, in order to continue their fight for supremacy, took birth in royal families and elsewhere on this earth, and so again godless kings were born here on this earth. The goddess Earth, oppressed by this vicious and godless creation, lodged a complaint with Brahmā, who with a view to freeing her from the tyranny of her oppressors ordains that the various gods and goddesses, *gandharvas* and *apsarases* incarnate themselves, in different forms and shapes, to wage war with the Asuras.

In this legend, which is here skilfully interwoven with the much lauded exploit of the Bhārgava Rāma, the Brahmin appears in the rôle of the *de facto* Creator of the Later Kṣatriyas. But in a variant version of the same incident, which occurs in the Śānti (adhy. 48–49 of the Vulgate) and which will be discussed in due course, the narrator, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa himself, while admitting that there was a general slaughter of the Kṣatriyas, allows that some Kṣatriyas had escaped death at the hands of the Bhārgava Rāma and, after his retirement to the forest, emerged from their places of concealment and resumed sovereignty. But in this prologue to the Ādiparvan, Vaiśaṁpāyana is quite certain that the Kṣatriyas were *totally* annihilated by Rāma and the race was *entirely* regenerated by Brahmins.

Another little digression, adhy. 60, which explains the origin and genealogy of the different orders of beings, from the gods downwards, contains also a genealogy of the Bhārgavas, the only Brahmanic genealogy considered by the epic bards worthy of inclusion in this chapter.

This confused cosmogonic account (1. 60. 1) begins with the enumeration of the six mind-born (*mānasa*) sons of Brahmā and the eleven sons of Sthāṇu, namely, the eleven Rudras. The six mind-born sons of Brahmā are : Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu, which list does *not* include Bhṛgu. Dakṣa

was born from the right thumb of Brahmā, and Dakṣa's wife from his left thumb. Dakṣa begat fifty daughters on his wife, of whom he gave away thirteen, in a lot, to Kaśyapa, son of Marīci. Kaśyapa's offsprings were the gods and the titans (*asuras*). The list of gods and demi-gods closes with the progeny of Kaśyapa (1. 60. 39) :

eṣa devagaṇo rājan kīrtitas te 'nupūrvaśaḥ ।
yaṁ kīrtayitvā manujaḥ sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate ॥

Immediately, after this list of celestials, come Bhṛgu and his descendants (1. 60. 40) :

Brahmaṇo hṛdayaṁ bhittvā niḥsṛto bhagavān Bhṛguḥ ।

The close proximity to the gods is perhaps a covert indication of the high position of the Bhṛgus in the Precedence List. The genealogy given here is short and mentions only the well-known descendants of one branch of the Bhārgava clan, the branch made famous by Rāma Jāmadagnya. The pedigree begins with Bhṛgu who also was a son of Brahmā, being born by piercing his heart.

But this ancestry of Bhṛgu is in conflict with another account found in the epic (Anuśāsana 85 of the Vulgate), according to which Bhṛgu was born from the seed of Prajāpati which had fallen in the fire. The latter account has partial Vedic support, for we read in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (3. 34) that the seed of Prajāpati became divided into three parts, from which were born Āditya, Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras. On the other hand, in the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (18. 9. 1), the paternity of Bhṛgu with two others is attributed to Varuṇa. Further in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (1. 3. 1. 1), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11. 6. 1. 1), Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (9. 1) also, Bhṛgu is said to be the son of Varuṇa ; from Varuṇa he obtained the knowledge of Brahma. There seems to be a partial synthesis of some of these divergent versions in the confused Anuśāsana account cited above, according to which, while Mahādeva, *in the form of Varuṇa*, was performing a sacrifice, *Brahmā* was presiding and all the gods and the goddesses were present. Seeing that assemblage of celestial damsels of exceeding beauty, desire sprang up in the mind of Brahmā. As soon as the seed came out, Brahmā took it up with the sacrificial ladle and poured it as a libation of clarified butter, with the necessary *mantras*, on the burning fire. Thereupon

three beings emerged from the sacrificial fire. One arose from the flames and *hence* he was called Bhṛgu; another came out of the burning charcoals and hence he passed by the name of Aṅgiras; the third originated from a heap of extinguished coals and was called Kavi. This tradition we find faintly reflected in a stanza (Ādi 216*), interpolated in most MSS. of the Northern recension after 1. 5. 6:

> *Bhṛgur maharṣir bhagavān Brahmaṇā vai svayaṁbhuvā* |
> *Varuṇasya kratau jātaḥ pāvakād iti naḥ śrutam* ||

Here we see that the great seer Bhṛgu is said to have been produced by the self-create Lord Brahmā during Varuṇa's sacrifice from Fire.

However, to return to the pedigree of the Bhṛgus given in Ādi 60, we find the statement that Bhṛgu had two sons, Kavi (whose son was Śukra) and Cyavana. About both Śukra and Cyavana, we hear a great deal in our Mahābhārata. From Cyavana the pedigree runs as follows: Cyavana-Aurva-Ṛcīka-Jamadagni-Rāma. About Ṛcīka alone the epic has not very much to narrate, but it is full of the wonderful exploits of the remaining Bhārgavas mentioned here, for whom our epic shows great predilection.

Thus we find, only a few chapters later, the epic relating at great length the well-known story of Yayāti (Yayātyupākhyāna, Ādi 71-80), in which Śukra and his haughty and ambitious daughter Devayānī play a prominent rôle. Between Yayāti and the Pāṇḍavas there intervene, according to the computation of Pargiter, nearly ninety generations. And thus although the connection of this episode with the main epic story is of a very slender character, it possesses considerable Bhārgava interest, which is probably the reason why it has been excerpted here from some Purāṇic source.

In adhy. 70, Vaiśaṁpāyana briefly sketches the early history of the Lunar Dynasty, mentioning Yayāti and his five sons. But Janamejaya is not satisfied with this sketchy account and requests Vaiśaṁpāyana to relate in detail the story of Yayāti, a remote ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas, "tenth in descent from Prajāpati" (*daśamo yaḥ Prajāpateḥ* 1. 71. 1). The story of Yayāti is as follows.

Bṛhaspati, son of Aṅgiras, was the preceptor of the gods; the Bhārgava Śukra (Kāvya Uśanas) that of the Asuras. Śukra, a powerful sorcerer, like all the other Bhārgavas, had the knowledge of the secret of reviving the dead (*saṁjīvanī vidyā*); not so Bṛhaspati. The gods were therefore handicapped in their wars with the Asuras. So at the instance of the gods, Bṛhaspati's son Kaca goes to Śukra, who was then the court chaplain of the Asura king Vṛṣaparvan, and lives with him as his disciple in order to obtain from him a knowledge of the art of reviving the dead. Śukra's daughter Devayānī falls headlong in love with Kaca and openly proposes marriage, an honour which Kaca politely but firmly declines. Subsequently one day when Devayānī and Śarmiṣṭhā, Vṛṣaparvan's daughter. are having a bathe in a neighbouring river, Indra tossed their clothes about, which had been left by the girls on the river bank, so that Śarmiṣṭhā by mistake took up the dress of Devayānī. There ensues a hefty quarrel between the girls, and Śarmiṣṭhā throws her rival into a dry well overgrown with grass. And there she remains until she is seen and pulled out of the well by the gallant king Yayāti, who with the approval of her father, Śukra, marries her. Previously, as a recompense for her overbearing conduct towards Devayānī, Śarmiṣṭhā had become Devayānī's slave. She now accompanies Devayānī to the capital of Yayāti and the three people live in happiness for some time. Yayāti has been warned beforehand by Śukra that he must on no account call Śarmiṣṭhā on to his bed. But Śarmiṣṭhā prevails upon the soft-hearted and indulgent Yayāti, by dint of importunity and feminine logic to act so that her menstrual period will not be wasted, " for the husband of one's friend is the same as one's own husband ". Yayāti is constrained to admit the logic and begets on her secretly three sons, while Devayānī has only two. Devayānī learns the truth of the whole affair one day by accident, and goes in a huff to her father, complaining bitterly of the perfidy of her husband. The enraged Śukra curses Yayāti that he would instantly suffer the effects of premature decrepitude, and so it happens. He relents, however, and adds that Yayāti might transfer his premature old age at will to any one who is willing to take it on in his stead. Accordingly Yayāti exchanged his decrepitude for the youth of his youngest son,

Pūru son of Śarmiṣṭhā, who was the only one of his five sons willing to take on his old age and to whom he subsequently handed over his vast kingdom as a reward for his filial affection.

In this version of the Yayāti legend, the Bhāragvī Devayānī has it all her own way and poor Śarmiṣṭhā has been thrust in the background except in the finale, which raises Śarmiṣṭhā's youngest son to the throne and the tables are turned on Devayānī. In spite of the Yayātyupākhyāna, Indian tradition honours Śarmiṣṭhā as the pattern of a wife most honoured by her husband; for in Kālidāsa's famous drama, when Kāśyapa gives his parting blessing to his beloved daughter, Śakuntalā, he could think of no better boon than to wish that she might be like Śarmiṣṭhā:

Yayāter iva Śarmiṣṭhā bhartur bahumatā bhava ।

" Be thou highly honoured of thy husband, as was Śarmiṣṭhā of Yayāti ' ".

The extermination of the Kṣatriyas by the Bhārgava Rāma and the subsequent regeneration of the Kṣatriya race by pious Brahmins find a mention already for the third time in adhy. 98 of the Ādi: this time in the course of a conversation between Bhīṣma and Satyavatī. The continuance of the royal family of Kurus was sorely jeopardized by the untimelty death of both the sons of Śaṁtanu, Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya. Satyavatī asks Bhīṣma to marry the young and beautiful widows of his half-brother Vicitravīrya and beget childern on them for the continuation of the race of the Kurus, a proposal which Bhīṣma firmly rejects as that would mean a deliberate breaking of his vow of celibacy. He proposes instead that a Brahmin be called to officiate (*niyoga*) and do the job. He cites a precedent for this *āpaddharma*. It is no other than the story of the Bhārgava Rāma and its sequel. To avenge the death of his father, Bhīṣma relates, the Bhārgava Rāma slew Arjuna, the son of Kṛtavīrya, king of the Haihayas. Then he set out on his war chariot to conquer the world. And taking up his *bow*, he hurled his mighty magical missiles (*astras*) and exterminated the Kṣatriyas more than once. In days of yore this illustrious descendant of Bhṛgu annihilated the Kṣatriyas thrice seven times (1. 98. 3):

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivī kṛtā niḥkṣatriyā purā । (II)

Then from a high sense of duty, the virtuous Brahmins of the

day co-habited with the widows of the Kṣatriyas massacred by the Bhārgava Rāma and begat on them offsprings and thus revived the almost extinct race of the Ksatriyas. Satyavatī should unhesitatingly follow this excellent precedent and arrange for the revival of the dying race of the Kurus.

So far we have come across only legends of the past achievements of the Bhārgavas. The first reference to a direct contact between a Bhārgava and one of the epic characters occurs in adhy. 121 of the Ādi. In this pseudo-historical epic, the myth may not be properly regarded as concerned with events in time. Therefore the Bhārgava Rāma, who only a few chapters previously is said to have lived in the interval between the Tretā and the Dvāpara Ages is here represented as the teacher (*guru*) of Ācārya Droṇa, who lived in the interval between the Dvāpara and the Kali Ages. The pupilship is only symbolical, but the basis of the symbolism is significant. Ācārya Droṇa is the *guru* of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas and of all the other valiant Kṣatriyas of the time. He was also one of the greatest warriors on the side of the Kauravas in the Bhārata War. But Ācārya Droṇa must also have a *guru*. And who would be more suitable as *guru* than the Bhārgava Rāma, who is the foremost of all weapon-bearers (*sarvaśastrabhṛtāṁ varaḥ*) ?

Once the symbol is accepted, it is treated as real, and the myth is worked out in great detail. Thus we are told that when Droṇa had finished his studies and taken up the duties of a householder, he began to feel the pinch of poverty. He then happened to hear that the Bhārgava Rāma was bestowing wealth on Brahmins. • No inconsistency or anachronism is felt, because Rāma is " ever-living" (*cirajīvin*). So Droṇa presented himself before the great Bhārgava, who was about to start for the forest, and asked for some wealth for himself. Rāma ruefully confessed to him that whatever wealth he at one time possessed he had freely presented to the Brahmins ; he had even presented the earth to Kaśyapa, his sacrificing priest. And now he had nothing left except his mortal body and his weapons and magical missiles (*astras*). He asked Droṇa to choose what he wanted. Droṇa of course chose the famous missiles with which Rāma had conquered the whole earth. Rāma accordingly gave all his

weapons to Droṇa, instructing him at the same time fully in the science of arms.

The story of Droṇa was apparently popular, for we find it repeated in an abridged form in adhy. 154, it being related there to the Pāṇḍavas by a Brahmin, who was urging them to proceed to the capital of Drupada to attend the *svayaṁvara* of Draupadī.

We learn another fragment of Bhārgava history from adhy. 169 to 172 of the Ādi, the Aurvopākhyāna, which is, as a matter of fact, a digression within a digression.

While the Pāṇḍava brothers were proceeding by slow stages to the capital of king Drupada to attend Draupadī's *svayaṁvara*, they are opposed on the way by Citraratha Aṅgāraparṇa, king of the Gandharvas, whom Arjuna after a brief fight overcomes. Citraratha and Arjuna soon become close friends. This sudden friendship gives the necessary opportunity to the skilful *raconteur* to smuggle in some stories. Citraratha, as a matter of fact, relates to Arjuna a number of interesting but flimsily introduced anecdotes, which are a pure and unadulterated digression, among them the well-known story of Vasiṣṭha. It is related how Viśvāmitra, king of Kanyakubja, tried to seize Vasiṣṭha's sacred cow (*kāmadhenu*) and, failing, turned ascetic and in the end became a Brahmin; how king Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa was cursed by Vasiṣṭha's son Śakti (or Śaktri) to become a cannibal and how he began his career as a cannibal by devouring Vasiṣṭha's own sons including Śakti; how Vasiṣṭha subsequently freed the king from the effects of the curse. Then finally to dissuade his enraged grandson Parāśara, son of Śakti, from destroying the whole creation in his frenzy, Vasiṣṭha relates to him the story of the Bhārgava Aurva. It will thus be seen that the Bhārgava legend is emboxed within the Vasiṣṭha legend, which is itself a digression (*upākhyāna*). This story of Aurva is as follows.

Once upon a time there was a king by name Kṛtavīrya of the Haihayas, whose family priests were the Bhṛgus. On them he bestowed great wealth. After his death the princes of his family, for some reason or other, demanded it back. The Bhṛgus came out with some of it, but not all. It then happened that one of the Kṣatriyas, accidentally digging the ground in the settlement of the Bhṛgus, came upon a large store of wealh buried under

ground. Enraged at what they naturally considered deceitful conduct on the part of the Bhṛgus, the Kṣatriyas used violence to the Bhṛgus, and slew them all indiscriminately. The Kṣatriyas even hunted down the women of the Bhṛgus, and with a view to exterminating the race killed all those that were pregnant. Pursued by the Kṣatriyas, some of the Bhṛgu women took shelter in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Himalayas. One of these women, in order to perpetuate the race of the Bhārgavas, had concealed her embryo in her thigh. The Kṣatriyas, when they came to know of it, pursued her with the intention of decimating her embryo; when, lo and behold, the child was born from his mother's thigh, blinding the Haihayas with his lustre. Bereft of sight, they roamed about in the forest, and, meekly approaching the faultless Brahmin lady, prostrated themselves before her, begging that their eyesight might be restored. " My good sirs ", said the Brahmin lady, " I have not robbed you of your eyesight, nor am I angry with you. But this scion of the Bhṛgus seems certainly to be angry with you. Your eyesight has no doubt been destroyed by this high-souled Bhārgava, whose wrath has been kindled by the massacre of his kinsmen. When you took to destroying even the embryos of the Bhṛgu race, the child was held by me concealed in my thigh for one hundred years. That he may do good to the Bhṛgu race, the entire Veda with its six *aṅgas* revealed itself to him when he was still in the womb. Being enraged at the slaughter of his kinsmen, he desires to kill you. It is by his divine effulgence that your eyesight has been destroyed. Pray, therefore, my good sirs, to this excellent son of mine,' born of my thigh (*ūru*); and pacified by your humbly prostrating yourself before him, he may restore your eyesight ". Thereupon all those Kṣatriyas on their bended knees said to that high-born child, " Forgive us ", and the high-born child forgave them. But that descendant of the Bhārgava race did not forget that outrage and resolved in his mind upon destroying this wicked world. With that object in view he started performing the most severe austerities. By the intensity of his austerities he afflicted all the worlds. On learning what Aurva was doing to avenge the wrong done to them by the Kṣatriyas, the shades of his ancestors came to him and addressed him as follows:

"O Aurva, O child, the prowess of thy fierce austerities has been seen by us. Control thy anger and forgive the people." They explain to him that the Kṣatriyas were really *not* to blame for the slaughter of the Bhṛgus! How could those puny Kṣatriyas ever hope to kill the Bhārgavas? That *contretemps* was a little contrivance of the Bhārgavas themselves. The fact was that the Bhārgavas were tired of their lives and longed to die, but death dared not touch them, those sinless effulgent specimens of humanity, and suicide was a cowardly act and a sin. They had therefore staged that little quarrel with those foolish and arrogant Kṣatriyas, so that the Kṣatriyas might get enraged and kill them, as they did. Of what use could wealth be to those emancipated souls, whose sole desire was to obtain heaven? Aurva replies that that may be all true, but he had made a vow to destory the world in order to calm his own anger and he must destroy it, or else he would be destroyed himself by the fire of his uncontrollable wrath. And so the world was in imminent danger of being totally destroyed! But the ancestors of Aurva show him a way out of the dilemma. They wisely advise him to fling the fire of his wrath in the waters, which are the primeval source and support of the world, and Aurva does so. And now, in the shape of horse's head (*hayaśiras*), his wrath dwells in the ocean, consuming its waters, which are the world (*lokā hy āpomayāḥ smṛtāḥ* 1. 171. 19).

In the above legend we may notice some of the repeated motives of Bhārgava stories. There is first of all the feud with the Kṣatriyas, which finally develops into the creation of the figure of the Bhārgava Rāma, "the foremost of all weapon-bearers," who single-handed, with the aid of his magical weapons, the *astras*, conquers the whole earth, annihilating the Kṣatriyas thrice seven times. Then there is the motif of the opportune birth of a miraculous child, whose effulgent lustre either blinds the oppressor (as here) or consumes him (as in the case of Cyavana). There is, lastly, the appearance of the shades of the ancestors, who step in to stop the carnage either contemplated (as here) or actually perpetrated (as in the case of Rāma), to avenge some private wrong done with reference to the family.

SABHĀPARVAN

The short Sabhā, which is a compact little book with 81 chapters and about 2700 stanzas (in the Vulgate). begins with the Erection of the Darbar Hall and ends with the Second Gambling Match. Here the story marches forward by rapid strides, consisting as it does mainly of spirited dialogue and dramatic action. The digressions are few and far between, and of *upākhyānas* as such there are none. The real important digressions, which occur early in the beginning, are two: firstly, the somewhat lengthy and imaginative descriptions (*ākhyānas*) by Nārada of the halls of the celestials Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Brahmā, preceded by a short Nīti tractate (adhy. 5–12); and, secondly, the previous history of Jarāsaṁdha, narrated by Kṛṣṇa (adhy. 17–19). Consequently, in this parvan, the Bhārgava material is extremely scanty.

The Bhārgavas are nevertheless briefly mentioned several times. Thus, naturally, many of the Bhārgavas, to wit, Bhṛgu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Rāma, Jāmadagnya, are several times mentioned as being present, along with other famous sages and seers of the past, in the halls of the celestials mentioned above, as also as a matter of course in the newly erected hall of Yudhiṣṭhira. In adhy. 8, Rāma has been placed by mistake among the royal sages (*rājarṣis*). They are likewise present at the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira. These static figures are like mural decorations, and of no special interest to us. We shall therefore ignore them.

Rāma's extermination of the Kṣatriyas, which is really never quite forgotten by our bards, is mentioned in adhy. 14. Kṛṣṇa prefaces his long reply to Yudhiṣṭhira regarding the prerequisites of the Rājasūya sacrifice by pointing out, quite irrelevantly, that the contemporary Kṣatriyas were far inferior to that old race of Kṣatriyas that was exterminated by the Bhārgava Rāma (B. 2. 14. 2):

Jāmadagnyena Rāmeṇa kṣatraṁ yad avaśeṣitam ।
tasmād avarajaṁ loke yad idaṁ kṣatrasaṁjñitam ॥

It was mentioned above that the high esteem in which our epic bards held Rāma Jāmadagnya had led to his being represented as the teacher of Ācārya Droṇa in the science of arms. The same ideology is responsible for the sedulously fostered belief that Rāma was the teacher of Bhīṣma also, an idea which is taken hold of

and further developed in that late addition to the Udyoga, the Ambā episode (Ambopākhyāna). Rāma is represented as standing in the same relation to Karṇa, the protégé and ally of Duryodhana. So, in his denunciation of Kṛṣṇa, Śiśupāla mentions Karṇa's pupilship under Rāma as one of Karṇa's qualifications entitling him to receive the *argha* (B. 2. 37. 15 f.):

ayaṁ ca sarvarājñāṁ vai balaślāghī mahābalaḥ ।
Jāmadagnyasya dayitaḥ śiṣyo viprasya Bhārata ॥
yenātmabalam āśritya rājāno yudhi nirjitāḥ ।
taṁ ca Karṇam atikramya kathaṁ Kṛṣṇas tvayārcitaḥ ॥

ĀRAṆYAKAPARVAN

This book is a veritable thesaurus of ancient Brahmanic myths and legends. We accordingly find that a fair amount of Bhārgava material has been incorporated in it. We further find that one Bhārgava takes a considerable share in the story-telling that is done here.

The first important reference to the Bhṛgus is in the Tīrthayātrā section. The list of *tīrthas* given in adhy. 82 ff. (of the Vulgate) is said to have been first communicated by the sage Pulastya to Bhīṣma and then repeated by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira. It is in reality a metrical compendium of *tīrthas*, which gives, in the space of a stanza or two, the necessary details about the particular *tīrtha*: the name of the *tīrtha*, the ritual acts to be done there, and finally the merit (*puṇya*) accruing from these acts. Thus, for example, we read (B. 3. 83. 13 ff.):

" O king, going to Śālūkinī and bathing in the Daśāśvamedha, the pilgrim obtains the merit of performing 10 *aśvamedha* sacrifices.—Then going to Sarpadevī, that excellent *tīrtha* of the Nāgas, one obtains the merit of performing 1 *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice and goes to the world of the Nāgas.—One should then proceed, O virtuous man, to (the shrine of) Tarantuka, the gate-keeper. Staying there only for one night, one obtains the merit of giving away 1000 kine.—Then going to the Pañcanada, with regulated diet and subdued soul, and bathing in the Koṭitīrtha, one obtains the merit of performing 1 *aśvamedha* sacrifice.—Going to the *tīrtha* of the Aśvins, a man is born handsome (in a future birth, of course).—One should then go, O virtuous man, to the excellent

tīrtha called Vārāha, where Viṣṇu in times of yore appeared in the form of a boar. Bathing there, O foremost of men, one obtains the merit of performing 1 *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice.—O king of kings, one should then visit Somatīrtha, situated in Jayanti. Bathing in it, one obtains the merit of performing 1 *rājasūya* sacrifice.—Bathing in Ekahaṁsa, one obtains the merit of giving away 1000 kine.—O ruler of men, going to the Kṛtaśauca, the pilgrim becomes purified, and obtains the merit of performing 1 *puṇḍarīka* sacrifice.—Then going to Muñjavaṭa, the place sacred to Sthāṇu, and fasting for one night, one acquires the position of *gāṇapatya*". — And so on and so forth.

Only very rarely is this dreary enumeration interrupted by a brief account of some myth or legend connected with the place of pilgrimage in question. Now we find embedded in this list the legend connected with the Rāmahradas (B. 3. 83. 26 ff.), which appears to have considerably roused the interest of the compiler and to which he has devoted not less than 32 lines. The story is of course no other than that of the extirpation of the Kṣatriya race by the Bhārgava Rāma, of which this is already the *fourth* repetition in some form or other. The story is as follows.

The greatly effulgent and heroic Rāma, after exterminating the Kṣatriyas with great valour, formed five lakes filled with the blood of the slaughtered warriors. And he offered that blood as oblation to his forefathers, who were most gratified by this supreme act of filial piety. The shades of these ancestors appeared before him and addressed him as follows : " O Rāma, O Rāma, O fortunate one ! We are pleased, O Bhārgava, with thy filial piety and with thy great valour. Ask for a boon, O greatly effulgent one. What dost thou wish to have ? " Having been thus addressed by his ancestors, Rāma, that foremost of smiters (*Rāmaḥ praharatāṁ varaḥ* B. 3. 83. 31), thus spoke with joined hands to his ancestors : " If you are pleased with me and if I have deserved your favour, then by your grace I desire that I may again derive pleasure in asceticism. By your power, may I be freed from the sin I have incurred by killing these Kṣatriyas in a fit of wrath. Also may these sanguinary lakes become holy places of pilgrimage celebrated throughout the world ". Hearing these righteous words of Rāma, his ancestors were highly pleased,

and filled with joy they thus replied to Rāma : "Let thy austerities prosper, especially by virtue of thy great filial piety. Forsooth thou hast exterminated the Kṣatriyas in a fit of wrath, but thou art already freed from that sin, for they have fallen owing to their own misdeeds. These lakes of thine shall without doubt become places of pilgrimage. He who will bathe in these lakes and offer here oblations to his ancestors will please his manes and they will gratify all his heart's desires, and lead him to the eternal celestial regions". Having granted these boons to Rāma and affectionately taken leave of him, the shades became invisible. It was thus that the bloody lakes of that illustrious descendant of Bhṛgu became sacred places of pilgrimage.—Leading the life of a student of the sacred lore and observing sacred vows, if a person bathes in the Lakes of Rāma (Rāmahrada) and worships Rāma, he will obtain much gold.

The reader will easily recognize this as the story which was briefly related already in connection with Samantapañcaka. In fact Rāmahrada appears to be only another name of Samantapañcaka, one of the *tīrthas* explicitly mentioned as having been visited by the Sūta (that is, the putative narrator of the Mahābhārata), before he came to Śaunaka's sacrifice. It will be recalled that some information was asked then about Samantapañcaka in adhy. 2 of the Ādi, and in that connection this story was briefly narrated by the Sūta to the sages of the Naimiṣa Forest. There the story was originally summarized in four stanzas, but some subsequent reviser, apparently not satisfied with such a cursory allusion to this epoch-making feat of Rāma, had interpolated at that place the dialogue between Rāma and his ancestors (compressed into eight lines), made up mostly of bits and pieces of verses borrowed from the present context, and like all interpolations proving itself to be somewhat of a bad fit.

A few chapters later, we have a strange story of a conflict between two different *avatāras* of the same god, Viṣṇu, between the Jāmadagnya Rāma and the Dāśarathi Rāma, told in connection with a Bhṛgutīrtha, "celebrated in the three worlds," which Yudhiṣṭhira and his party are said to have visited (B. 3. 99. 34 ff). Once upon a time, the story goes, Rāma Jāmadagnya went to Ayodhyā to meet Rāma Dāśarathi and to test his strength.

Rāma D. was sent by his father to the boundary of his kingdom to receive Rāma J. hospitably, but was flagrantly insulted by the latter. Rāma D. nevertheless bends the bow given to him by Rāma J. to test his strength and shoots an arrow which convulses the whole world, astounding Rāma J. Rāma D. further confounds Rāma J. completely by showing him his cosmic form (*viśvarūpa*), made popular by the Gītā (adhy. 11), and rebukes him for his overweening conduct. Abashed, Rāma J. returns to Mount Mahendra, having lost his lustre (*tejas*), which he regains later at some *tīrtha* or other. Yudhiṣṭhira is asked to bathe in the same *tīrtha* that he might regain the lustre he had lost in his conflict with Duryodhana.

This grotesque story, composed probably with the object of glorifying the Kṣatriya Rāma at the cost of the Brahmin Rāma, must be quite a modern interpolation, in the Mahābhārata. Contextually it is an obvious misfit, being incongruously wedged in between two halves of the Agastya legend, with which it has absolutely no connection. Not only is this bizarre story contextually a misfit, it is a very poor piece of composition, and it strikes moreover a discordant note, involving disrespect towards the Bhārgava Rāma, who in our epic is otherwise throughout held up for our admiration as the foremost of weapon-bearers and fighters. Fortunately we are not left to deduce the spuriousness of this passage merely from intrinsic arguments, which are apt to be discredited; for, the passage is missing entirely in the Southern recension, an omission supported by the Kaśmīrī version and even by some ancient Devanāgarī MSS. The story, which is narrated at some length in the Rāmāyana, is not even alluded to in the Rāmopākhyāna of our epic and belongs evidently to a different complex of legends, quite inharmonious with the Mahābhārata context. It appears to have been smuggled into the capacious folds of the Āraṇyakaparvan in quite recent times by some well-meaning but ignorant Northern interpolater anxious to vindicate the boast of the epic to be a complete encyclopaedia of the Hindu legendary lore.

But the next chapter (100) again contains a Bhārgava story, the legend of Dadhīca. Lomaśa relates how the Kālakeyas under the leadership of Vṛtra persecuted the celestials, who betook them-

selves to Brahmā, asking for his protection. The latter advises them to go to the (Bhārgava) Dadhīca and ask for his bones. The sage magnanimously gives up his body for the good of the three worlds. The celestials took the bones of Dadhīca to Viśvakarman, the architect of the gods, who fashioned out of his bones the thunderbolt, with which Indra vanquished the enemies of the gods. The story is repeated in the account of the pilgrimage of Baladeva (Śalya 51 in the Vulgate), where it is said of Dadhīca that he was the strongest of all creatures, tall as the Himalayas and that Indra was always mightily afraid of him on account of his lustre.

Yet again, a few chapters later, the arrival of Yudhiṣṭhira and his party at Mount Mahendra, the headquarters of Rāma, now a *saṁnyāsin*, affords a welcome opportunity to the bard for the presentation of a full-length portrait of the hero of the Bhārgavas, Rāma, son of Jamadagni (Āraṇyaka 115–117 in the Vulgate).

The Pāṇḍavas bathe at the mouth of the Ganges and proceed to the river Vaitaraṇī in Kaliṅga, where the altar of Kaśyapa is. They rest on Mount Mahendra and hear there from Akṛtavraṇa, a disciple of the Bhārgava Rāma, the well-known story of Rāma, which may be summarized as follows.

Gādhi, king of Kanyakubja, had retired to the forest to practise religious austerities. There a most beautiful daughter was born to him, Satyavatī, whom the Bhārgava Ṛcīka wooed. Gādhi perhaps did not relish his suit and tried to evade it by demanding a present of a thousand peculiarly coloured horses, but Ṛcīka supplied them and gained her. Then a Bhṛgu (perhaps, Aurva is meant), who was a great sorcerer, visits the newly married couple and gives his young daughter-in-law the boon that she would give birth to a gifted son, and so would her mother. To fortify the boon, he prescribes that she should embrace an *udumbara* tree, her mother an *aśvattha*, and both should partake of different dishes of some special *caru* prepared by him with powerful incantations and endowed with magical potency. These good ladies go and exchange the trees as well as the dishes of *caru* which were apportioned to them by the great sage, with the result that the daughter was about to give birth to a Brahmin son with Kṣatriyan qualities and the mother a Kṣatriya son with

Brahmanic qualities. But the Bhrgu, who comes to know of this interchange by occult means, comes rushing to the hermitage and tells his daughter-in-law what was going to happen. Moved by her entreaties, he gives a further boon to the daughter-in-law, who had really been deceived by her mother, postponing the action of the potent charm. Thus her son Jamadagni was saved from the taint of Kṣatriyahood, which ultimately fell upon her grandson Rāma, who turned out to be, as prophesied, a revengeful and blood-thirsty warrior perpetrator of cruel and sanguinary deeds. Jamadagni, though a peaceful Brahmin who excelled in the study of the Vedas, as desired by his mother, was not without martial equipment, for "the entire science of arms with the four kinds of magical missiles spontaneously came to him, who rivalled the sun in lustre, without any instruction from anybody" (B. 3. 115. 45). Jamadagni married Reṇukā, daughter of king Prasenajit. She gave birth to five sons: Rumaṇvat, Suṣeṇa, Vasu, Viśvāvasu, and last but not least Rāma. The family lived happily for some time. Then one day when Reṇukā of rigid vows happened to see Citraratha, the handsome king of Mārttikāvataka, sporting in water with his numerous wives, her fortitude forsook her and she felt the pangs of desire. When she returned to the hermitage, Jamadagni noticed her pollution and guessed her secret. In a fit of rage he called in turn upon each of his sons to kill their unchaste mother. Four of them refused to do the atrocious deed and were cursed by the angry and disappointed father for their disobedience. Then came last of all that "slayer of hostile heroes," Rāma Jāmadagnya. A military type, accustomed to receive and obey orders, Rāma, when sternly commanded by his father to slay his mother, took his axe and without hesitation chopped off his mother's head! Jamadagni, mightily pleased with the instant obedience of his son, granted Rāma several boons, among them the boon that the mother whom Rāma had decapitated might be restored to life. And the family lived again happily for some time. Then one day Arjuna Kārtavīrya Sahasrabāhu came to the hermitage and was hospitably received by the Bhārgavas. The ungrateful king, intoxicated with the pride of power, not heeding the hospitality, seized and carried off by force from the hermitage the calf of the sacred cow of the sage. (a variant of the *kāmadhenu* motif of the Vasiṣṭha-

Viśvāmitra legend), and spitefully broke the big trees in the hermitage grounds. This was the beginning of a terrible feud. Rāma first slew the arrogant Arjuna Kārtavīrya, and Arjuna's sons then slew the unresisting Jamadagni. Then Rāma slaughterd the sons of Arjuna K. and finally destroyed all Kṣatriyas off the earth thrice seven times and made five pools of blood in Samantapañcaka (B. 3. 117. 9) :

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivīṁ kṛtvā niḥkṣatriyāṁ prabhuḥ ।
Samantapañcake pañca cakāra rudhirahradān ॥ (III)

Standing in these pools of blood—as has already been narrated several times above—Rāma offered oblations to the manes until at last his ancestor Ṛcīka appeared and stopped him. Rāma then performed a great sacrifice to gratify Indra, in which he bestowed the earth upon Kaśyapa, his priest. Then this annihilator of the Kṣatriya race was at last satisfied and retired to Mount Mahendra, engaging himself in austerities of a rather severe type. " Thus did hostility arise between Rāma and the Kṣatriyas of this earth, and the entire earth was conquered by Rāma of immeasurable lustre " (B. 3. 117. 15). It is then narrated that the Bhārgava Rāma appeared there in person on Mount Mahendra to meet the Pāṇḍavas. He was duly received and honoured by Yudhiṣṭhira and his party, and he honoured them in turn.

This account has been amplified in later times—like several other Bhārgava episodes—by the addition of a passage of 23 lines (B. 3. 115. 9-19), which is prefixed to it and which is chiefly of interest on account of the vague suggestion it contains to the effect that the Bhārgava Rāma was an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. This interpolation begins with the previous history of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, king of Haihayas. He is represented here as a worshipper of Dattātreya, by whose favour he had obtained a golden *vimāna* and a wonderful chariot. Intoxicated with the pride of power, Arjuua Kārtavīrya insulted Indra, trampled upon the sages and even upon the celestials, and persecuted all creatures. Thereupon the celestials and the sages met together and went in a body to Viṣṇu to ask for his protection. Then the exalted god (Viṣṇu) held a consultation with Indra. The god of gods (Indra) told Viṣṇu what had to be done. Thereupon the exalted god, promising to do the needful, went to Badarī, his

favourite retreat.—Here the introduction suddenly breaks off, and the story narrated above about Gādhi and Ṛcīka begins (B. 3. 115. 20). The suggestion probably is that at the consultation between Indra and Viṣṇu it was decided that Viṣṇu should incarnate himself on the earth as the son of Jamadagni, as Rāma Jāmadagnya, who should, in the fulness of time, slay Arjuna Kārtavīrya, but that is left unsaid. The passage is missing in the entire Southern recension and in some Northern manuscripts including those of the Kaśmīrī version. There can therefore be no doubt about its being a comparatively recent interpolation.

As already remarked above, Rāma Jāmadagnya and the other Bhārgavas such as Cyavana, Ṛcīka and so on are generally used as static figures, along with other ancient sages like Nārada, in the description of largely attended and important meetings and state functions, and such treatment of these characters is quite intelligible, if not natural. But the Bhārgavas—and especially the Bhārgava Rāma—are accorded a somewhat different treatment; they are represented as taking part in the action more definitely and more frequently. We have seen that the Bhārgava Rāma is said to have given all his *astras* to Droṇa. He is also said to have taught Bhīṣma and Karṇa. Here he is represented as having shown himself to the Pāṇḍavas, as a special favour. In another context Rāma is said to have fought with Bhīṣma, a fight which lasted for twenty-three days but was absolutely barren of any consequence. Elsewhere also we shall find Rāma and some of other Bhārgavas represented as taking some innocuous part in the action, which in no way affects the course of events but which serves to establish and maintain contact between the Bhārgavas and the epic characters.

The above story of Rāma, which is miscalled the Kārtavīryopākhyāna, ends at adhy. 117 of the Vulgate. At adhy. 122, we have another Bhārgava story, which covers adhy. 122-124 and about half of adhy. 125 : the story of the great wizard Cyavana, son of Bhṛgu.

The Pāṇḍavas reach the Payoṣṇī and the Narmadā rivers and hear from Lomaśa the story (*upākhyāna*) of Cyavana : how he demanded in marriage a young princess, by name Sukanyā, wh

had innocently and unwittingly blinded him ; how he recovered his sight by the grace of the Aśvins and how he gave them on that acount the Soma libation, paralyzing the arm of Indra, who would have prevented it. The story runs thus.

Cyavana, son of Bhṛgu, practised austerities in a forest so long that an ant-hill was formed round him. There came one day to that place king Śaryāti, accompanied by his daughter Sukanyā, with beautiful eyebrows and tapering thighs. The sage imprisoned within the ant-hill gazed longingly at the youthful princess, clad in a single garment and adorned with costly ornaments, and addressed some words to her which she did not hear. Sukanyā saw, however, the gleaming eyes of the sage, engaged in self mortification in the ant-hill, and mistaking them for a species of glow-worm, in youthful headlessness, pierced the eyes of the sage with a thorn. Little did she think of the dire consequences of her childish act. For through the anger of the offended sage, smarting with the pain thoughtlessly inflicted on him by the headless princess, the king's entire army suffered suddenly from a complete stoppage of urine and excreta. The bewildered king inquired about the cause of this strange mishap, but none of his soldiers and companions could enlighten him. The occurrence remained a mystery until the guilty princess confessed her misdemeanour. Śaryāti forthwith set out to pacify the irate sage. The sage would relent only if the mischievous but fascinating princess is given to him in marriage. Without reflecting, the king agreed to bestow his beautiful daughter on the high-souled Cyavana and returned to his own city. Some time later the Aśvins saw the faultless Sukanyā bathing in the lake adjoining the hermitage of the sage. They also were smitten by her ravishing beauty and asked her to accept one of them for her husband instead of the blind old sage. As she would not consent, they propose that they would rejuvenate Cyavana, and then she should choose. With the permission of her husband she consents to the second proposal. Cyavana had to dip into the waters of the lake, into the primordial element, the womb of all creation, along with the Aśvins (Fountain of Youth motif).[1] The three of

[1] An alluring explanation of the idea underlying this intriguing motif has been given by H. Zimmer in his *Maya, Der indische Mythos* (Stuttgart 1936), pp. 43 ff.

them came out of the water, all looking exactly alike. Here is a dilemma (Nala-Damayantī motif). By virtue of her unswerving loyalty to her husband, Sukanyā is however able to choose the right man. In gratefulness for the gift of youth and beauty, Cyavana promises the Aśvins a draught of the Soma juice during a regular sacrifice. Soon afterwards, Śaryāti comes to visit his son-in-law Cyavana and the latter arranges a great sacrifice for Śaryāti, at which he offers the first draught of Soma to the Aśvins, who used to be altogether excluded on these festive occasions on account of their being medicine men. Indra tries to stop the sacrilegious act; but as Cyavana will not heed, Indra then attempts to hurl the thunderbolt at him. But Cyavana was too quick for him. Instantly Cyavana paralyzed Indra's arm and brought him to his knees. At the same time the great sorcerer created by his magic a terrible demon (*kṛtyā*) called Mada (Intoxication). When Mada rushes towards Indra to slay him, Indra grants the wish of Cyavana, who triumphantly continues the sacrifice and gives the Aśvins, the promised libation of Soma. Since that time the Aśvins participate regularly in the sacrificial offerings on a basis of equality with the other gods. Indra at the same time apologizes and explains that he had opposed Cyavana merely to spread the fame of Cyavana and his father-in-law Śaryāti throughout the world : a significant and prophetic utterance.

Bhṛgu, the father of Cyavana, had only cursed Agni, a minor god, in fact, merely the " mouth " of the gods, to be *sarvabhakṣa*, devourer of all things, good and bad (1. 6. 13). Cyavana did even better. He thoroughly humbled Indra, the king of gods, who had to submit to the will of Cyavana.

In the next chapter again we have a passing allusion to a Bhārgava, who remains unnamed. The background is a Bhārgava hermitage, though the main actors are not Bhṛgus. The pious Yuvanāśva Saudyumni is practising austerities for the sake of progeny. One night he became very thirsty. Searching for water, he enters the hermitage of the Bhārgava who was engaged in performing some magical rites in order to make Yuvanāśva's queen give birth to a son. This sorcerer had actually prepared a potion, endowed with magical efficacy, for administering it to the queen and kept the jar containing the dose in a corner of the

hermitage. The thirsty king found it, and, not knowing that the water was charmed and intended in fact for the queen, drained the potion to the dregs. Here was a mess. But the potion prepared by a Bhṛgu is infallible in its effect. Whoever drinks it must give birth to a son. Consequently the king became himself pregnant, and a son, Māndhātṛ, was born to him, ripping open his left side, but owing to some propitiatory rites performed by the Bhṛgu, Yuvanāśva himself escaped unhurt.

It is interesting to compare this version of the story of Māndhātṛ with the one which occurs in the Droṇaparvan (adhy. 62 of the Vulgate). There we are told that once upon a time king Yuvanāśva, when out hunting, became thirsty, and his steed was exhausted. Seeing at a distance a curl of smoke, the monarch guided by it reached a sacrificial enclosure and found there some sacrificial butter (*ājya*), which he greedily swallowed. Thereupon the king became pregnant and was delivered of a son (Māndhātṛ) by the Aśvins. The rest of the story is nearly the same.

In this version, king Yuvanāśva was not practising austerities for secuting the birth of a son, but had gone out hunting. Nor did he partake of the magical preparation at night in the dark, but presumably in full daylight, when the smoke from the sacred hearth could yet be seen by him. The second version moreover makes no mention of any Bhṛgu, playing the rôle of the officiating priest and saviour of Yuvanāśva, like the first, which is an important discrepancy. The second story is sketchy and lacking in definition, and appears to be the older version. In the first the details are filled out, by adding a Bhṛgu. as an officiating priest and generally making the picture more vivid and realistic.

The next Bhārgava of importance we meet with in the Āraṇyaka is the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, whose discourses on the most divers topics extend over 51 chapters (182–232) in the Vulgate, containing about 2200 stanzas (Mārkaṇḍeya-samāsyā), which he delivers for the delectation and edification of the Pāṇḍavas. This is not his first visit to the Pāṇḍavas by any means. For early in the beginning of their exile, when the Pāṇḍavas had settled in the Dvaitavana Forest, Mārkaṇḍeya had paid a flying visit

to them (adhy. 25). He turns up again, as a matter of fact, also towards the end of their exile, without notice or warning, to console Yudhiṣṭhira and relates to him the Rāmopākhyāna, the popular story of Rāma and Sītā, as well as the Sāvitryupākhyāna, that immortal story of a wife's splendid devotion. These two *upākhyānas*, narrated by Mārkaṇḍeya, together comprise about 1060 stanzas. Thus the Mārkaṇḍeya-samāsyā together with the two latter *upākhyānas* comprise 3260 stanzas, which is nearly one fourth of the entire extent of this extensive *parvan*.

Mārkaṇḍeya was one of the *cirajīvins* : eternally youthful though many thousand years old. How he was exactly connected with the two well-known Bhṛgu families of our Mahābhārata (Bhṛgu–Cyavana–Rāma and Bhṛgu–Cyavana–Śunaka) is not exactly known ; but that he was a Bhārgava is beyond doubt. He is referred to as *Bhārgava* in B. 3. 183. 60 ; 189. 97 ; 190. 2 13. 22. 15 : as *Bhārgava-sattama* in B. 3. 201. 7 ; 217. 5 : as *Bhṛgu-nandana* in B. 3. 205. 4 : as *Bhṛgukula-śreṣṭha* in B. 3. 205. 15. Moreover Mārkaṇḍa is explicitly declared to be a *gotra* founder of the Bhṛgu clan in the Matsya Purāṇa (195. 20).

Some of the subjects of Mārkaṇḍeya's discourses to the Pāṇḍavas are the following : great power of Brahmins ; merit of benevolence to Brahmins ; wife's duty to her husband ; and different forms of Agni. He relates, among others, stories of Manu, Yayāti, Vṛṣadarbha, Śibi, Indradyumna (father of Janaka), Kuvalāśva and of Skanda Kārttikeya. He is also responsible for the famous story of the Righteous Hunter (*dharma-vyādha*) of Mithilā. Besides these, there is, as is well known, a whole Purāṇa, named after him, the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

The most interesting of Mārkaṇḍeya's stories, however, is how he actually witnessed the act of creation and dissolution in progress. We have here in fact in Mārkaṇḍeya a Brahmanic counterpart of the Kṣatriya Manu, that distant cousin of the Semitic Noah with his ark, seeds and so on.

The legend of Manu, like that of Noah, is a childish story. According to this legend (Matsyopākhyāna, also related by the same sage Mārkaṇḍeya, Āraṇyaka 187 in the Vulgate), Manu, son of Vivasvat, while saying his usual prayers on the bank of a river, sees a tiny little fish, which asks the sage to protect it.

Manu rears the fish in a small earthen vessel, which the fish soon outgrows. The fish keeps on growing larger and larger. Manu places the fish successively in a tank, in the river Ganges, and in the ocean. Before parting from Manu, the fish warns him of the impending catastrophe and advises him to build an ark and keep carefully a store of *seeds* of all kinds. When the deluge comes, Manu gets into the ark with the Seven Sages. The ark is towed by the horned fish on the ocean, which during the deluge flooded everything. The ship, " like a drunken wench ", staggered from side to side on the bosom of the agitated ocean. In the end the ship is fastened on to the peak of the Himalayas, called Naubandhana, which is projecting out of the water. When the flood subsides, Manu quietly gets out of the ark and, as he has all the necessary seeds with himself in the ark, there would be no difficulty in creating the world anew. Before parting again from Manu and the Seven Sages, the Fish says, " I am Brahmā, the lord of creatures. None is greater than I. In the form of a fish I have saved you all from this peril. Manu will creat all beings: gods, *asuras* and human beings, the mobile and the immobile creation. "

This story, which appears to belong to a different complex of myths and does not at all fit well in the Mahābhārata cycle, is, as has been surmised, probably of Semitic origin. [1] If Manu creates all beings, Brahmā is thrown out of employment. The Purāṇic theory of creation is that there is a deluge; nothing remains of the universe except Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, reclining on the coils of the Eternal Serpent (Śeṣa-Ananta) floating on the waters. Then out of Nārāyaṇa's navel emerges Brahmā, seated on a lotus, the creative aspect of the deity. From Brahmā are born his mind-born sons (*mānasa-putras*). Then other beings, male and female, emerge from his heart, breast, thumbs and so on. These are the Prajāpatis. They propagate this world of ours. The process is repeated at each dissolution: it is an eternal recurrence. In this complex there is clearly no room for the Semitic legend, which would imply a parallel creation by Manu, a state of things which is not at all what is intended by the legend. Since a

1 Cf. Winternitz, " Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvölker ", in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. 31 (1901), pp. 321 f., 327 ff.

variant version of this legend is found even in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (1. 8. 1), it should seem that the Semitic legend was introduced into India at a fairly early date but has remained unassimilated. Its exotic character, however, appears to me to be clearly betrayed by the *phalaśruti* at the end of the chapter, an addition which accompanies all late accretions to the Great Epic (B. 3. 187. 58 *emended*):

> *ya idaṁ śṛṇuyān nityaṁ Manoś caritam āditaḥ* ।
> *sa sukhi sarvasiddhārthaḥ svargalokam iyān naraḥ* ॥

The Indian Noah is a man of a very different character. He requires neither boat nor horned fish to save him; nor does he keep a store of seeds with himself. The man who could live through the dissolution of the world can only be a perfect Yogi; and a perfect Yogi is deathless. "There is none equal to you in years save Brahmā Parameṣṭhin," says Yudhiṣṭhira to the Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya. But he requires neither food nor drink to live. He can walk on water as easily as on land. So when the world was overwhelmed with floods and the creation was gradually submerged, Mārkaṇḍeya found himself alone, walking on the waters of the ocean. After some time Mārkaṇḍeya, being human after all, begins to feel a little tired and lonely, tramping about all by himself on the surface of the endless ocean. He also felt inexpressibly sad at that awful destruction. Then all of a sudden he noticed a little child resting on the extended branch of a huge banyan tree (*nyagrodha*). Mārkaṇḍeya could not at all imagine how that little helpless child could have survived all that cataclysmal devastation, and he kept pondering over that matter, standing near the child. Seeing his confusion, the child softly told him to go into his body and rest there, and the child opened its little mouth and drew him gently inside. And, lo and behold, inside the child he found the world whose destruction he had seen with his own eyes. The sun, the moon and the stars, all the oceans, seas and rivers of the world, all the men, women and children whom he had known, all animals, gods and demons,—they were all there, inside the little stomach of that wonderful little child. He wandered about inside for hundreds of years and still he could not find the end of it all, when he suddenly found

himself outside the child, blown out by his gentle exhalation. Then the child spoke to the sage, and then it suddenly dawned on Mārkaṇḍeya who the Child was. He sees and recognizes God.[1]

As this Brahmin Noah had no need for the ark, he had no need for any seeds. The seeds are there permanently. There had been in fact no destruction at all : that destruction was an illusion. There was only an involution : the world had been only withdrawn into the interior of God. Creation, moreover, was not Mārkaṇḍeya's concern : it was the business of Brahmā. Like the seed which has been well planted, the universe will grow of itself, putting forth in due time blossoms and fruits and other seeds. Mārkaṇḍeya, the Yogi, is intersted only in knowing and understanding things. He had seen God, but that is not sufficient for him. He wants to know God, know about His nature and character, His Māyā, that Māyā which had not been understood even by the gods themselves (B. 3. 188. 135) :

jñātum icchāmi deva tvāṁ māyāṁ caitāṁ tavottamām ।

The divine Child declares itself to be Nārāyaṇa, the indestructible source of the world, and reveals to Mārkaṇḍeya His real nature and character.

The Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya is, according to this account, the only man who had survived the last deluge, witnessed the act of dissolution and creation in progress, stood in his own person face to face with Nārāyaṇa in the utter solitude of total annihilation, but it is nowhere made clear why Mārkaṇḍeya was singled out for this unique honour : an unmotivated theme. It is left to us infer that the Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya is the only perfect Yogi that ever lived.

A little later, as already mentioned, Mārkaṇḍeya relates to the Pāṇḍavas the famous Rāmopākhyāna (Āraṇyaka 273–292 in the Vulgate), an abridgement of the Rāma story in about 750 stanzas. The occasion for relating the story arises in the following way.

Jayadratha, a near relative of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas tries to carry off Draupadī, but is defeated and captured, and ultimately pardoned and released. Yudhiṣṭhira mourns his fate

[1] An illuminating commentary on a different version of this same myth is given by H. Zimmer, *Maya, Derindische Mythos*, pp. 52 ff.

and asks Mārkaṇḍeya, who seems to be rather abruptly introduced for the purpose of the story, if there is any mortal more unfortunate than himself. Thereupon Mārkaṇḍeya relates the story of the Dāśarathi Rāma. Now the entire story of the attempted rape of Draupadī by Jayadratha is so ill conceived and unconvincing that it appears to have been invented solely for the purpose of introducing a summary of the Rāmāyaṇa. Who could be now a better narrator of the story of Rāma than the Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya, age old and yet eternally young, the only man who had witnessed the happenings in this world in all the different ages, witnessed even the dissolution and creation of the world?

After hearing the story of Rāma, Yudhiṣṭhira, the "dummy" of the bard, says that he did not grieve so much on his own or his brothers' account as he did on account of the daughter of Drupada; and then asks Mārkaṇḍeya if he had ever seen or heard of a woman as devoted to her husband as Draupadī. To console Yudhiṣṭhira, Mārkaṇḍeya then relates the well-known story (*upākhyāna*) of Sāvitrī, who rescues her husband from death by the insistent importunity of her pleading, by her deep feminine intuition and by her unflinching devotion to her husband (Āraṇyaka 293-299 in the Vulgate). And that is the last episode of the Āraṇyaka narrated by the Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya and in fact the last episode of this *parvan* in which a Bhārgava is concerned.

VIRĀṬAPARVAN

In the short Virāṭaparvan, as in the Sabhā, the narrative is plain and straightforward, unembellished by any episodic enlargement, and the story marches rapidly forward. This book contains consequently no *upākhyānas* and there is no room for any Bhārgava digression. The references to the Bhārgavas are few and far between, and they are incidental allusions to the greatness or heroism of the Bhārgavas. One of these may be adduced for the purpose of illustration. Addressing Duryodhana, Bhīṣma asks: "Who is superior to Droṇa except Rāma, the son of Jamadagni?" (B. 4. 51. 10).

UDYOGAPARVAN

The Udyogaparvan furnishes its quota of references to the Bhārgavas, at least to the Bhārgava Rāma. Here again Rāma Jāmadagnya emerges from the obscurity of myth and legend, and we find him coming into direct contact—and in one case, actual conflict—with some of the epic characters.

In adhy. 72 ff. of the Vulgate version of the Udyoga, we have an account of a council held by the Pāṇḍavas, where Kṛṣṇa is commisioned to go and treat with Dhṛtarāṣṭra, which is followed in adhy. 83 ff. by a description of Kṛṣṇa's journey to Hāstinapura. On the way he meets a company of ancient sages, whom he duly honours. On his asking them whither they were bound, the Bhārgava Rāma, who is apparently their spokesman, explains that they were on their way to attend the council meeting which was going to be held at Hāstinapura in order to witness the proceedings and listen to the discussion. The sages then take leave of him and proceed on their way. Led by Rāma Jāmadagnya, they arrive in due course at the capital of the Kurus and present themselves in the darbar hall, where they are received with due honours by Bhīṣma (adhy. 94). The proceedings begin with a long peroration by Kṛṣṇa, in which he announces that the Pāṇḍavas were ready to obey implicitly the commands of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, provided they were assured that they would be treated with fairness and given what is theirs by right (adhy. 95). The Bhārgava Rāma, taking advantage of the spell of silence which followed Kṛṣṇa's diplomatic speech, gets up and, advising peace, relates, unasked, the story of Dambhodbhava (adhy. 96). The foolish king Dambhodbhava, who wants to be acknowledged the unconquered and unconquerable hero, challenges in his cupidity the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa (who were then practising penance at Badarī) to fight with him. The ascetics meekly decline, but Dambhodbhava is importunate. So in the end Nara takes up a handful of grass and, charging the blades in his hand with mystic potency, flings them at the enemy. They change into deadly missiles, overpowering the soldiers of Dambhodbhava, and compel him to surrender and acknowledge his defeat. Nara reads Dambhodbhava a sermon on self-contral, on kindness to all creatures and humility towards Brahmins. The Bhārgava Rāma appearing here in the rôle of a

peace-maker concludes by advising conciliation and pointing out that Nara is Arjuna, while Nārāyaṇa is Kṛṣṇa. The story is an unnecessary digression, with the very obvious object of reiterating and emphasizing the identity between Nara-Nārāyaṇa and Arjuna-Kṛṣṇa.

The Udyogaparvan closes with a story (Ambopākhyāna), in which the Bhārgava Rāma plays a very active and prominent part (adhy. 173–196 of the Vulgate). Bhīṣma explains to Duryodhana that, because of a vow he had taken, he would not fight with Śikhaṇḍin, who at birth had been a girl, and then relates the whole life history of Śikhaṇḍin, who in a previous birth was Ambā, the daughter of the king of Kāśī. Bhīṣma narrates how Ambā, having been disappointed of marriage through Bhīṣma's action, vowed to compass his death and how the Bhārgava Rāma, having promised to help her, fought with Bhīṣma at Kurukṣetra for twenty-three days, a fight which ends in a stalemate. The story is developed in this way.

When Ambā was repulsed by Śālva, to whom she was engaged and who subsequently refused to marry her on account of her abduction by Bhīṣma, she left him and wandered about alone in a neighbouring forest, nursing her grief and vowing vengeance. There she meets a company of ascetics, who sympathize with her and devise means to help her. While the ascetics are cogitating as to how they should help her, there comes along by chance Ambā's grandfather, the royal sage Hotravāhana, who advises her to seek the help of his *friend* Rāma Jāmadagnya. While these deliberations are proceeding, Rāma's disciple and faithful follower Akṛtavraṇa appears on the scene. Hotravāhana tells him the previous history of Ambā and also her future plans. Akṛtavarṇa decides that Bhīṣma is certainly responsible for Ambā's misfortunes, and is the party deserving punishment. By a fortunate accident Rāma—on the war-path, armed with a bow and a sword and his famous axe (*paraśu*)—comes there the following morning. Ambā again relates the whole story of her unfortunate life to the Bhārgava Rāma and beseeches him to slay the offending Bhīṣma. But since Rāma has taken the vow that he would on no account take up arms except at the bidding of the twice-born, he has to be persuaded by the sages to espouse Ambā's cause.

He then proceeds with Ambā and all the assembled sages to the banks of the Sarasvatī and from there sends a message to Bhīṣma, who meets him at the boundary of the Kuru kingdom. Rāma orders Bhīṣma to take back Ambā or failing that fight a duel with him. Since Bhīṣma cannot do the former, he decides to fight, goes back to the city and returns, furnished with all arms and accoutrements, in a chariot made of silver, drawn by white horses. Bhīṣma's mother Gaṅgādevī (identified with the river Ganges) tries to stop the impending fight but without success. The fight lasts for several days, when at last Rāma wounded by an arrow of Bhīṣma falls down in a swoon. Bhīṣma stops fighting : it is a gentlemanly duel, following minutely all the strict rules of chivalry, and unlike the deadly combats of the Bhārata war. · The fight is continued on the following days, with varying luck. Even after many days of constant fighting, in which millions and billions of arrows are showered by each combatant and cut up by the opponent, various magical missiles are flung by which alternately the combatants get wounded, fall down, recover and resume the fight, the grim contest continues indecisively. Then one night Bhīṣma, who was one of the Vasus, saw in a dream a group of eight Brahmins (the Eight Vasus), who had supported him and encouraged him that same day while he was lying wounded and unconscious on the battlefield. They remind him of a magical missile of his, by discharging which he could put the Bhārgava Rāma to sleep on the field of battle. Next day the fight began again and the combatants hurled at each other simultaneously the terrific Brahma missile, which is capable of shattering the earth. The two missiles clash in the middle and neutralize each other. During the commotion caused by these weapons, Bhīṣma thinks of the sleep missile. As he is about to discharge that missile, the gods intervene. With Bhīṣma's mother, Gaṅgā, the gods go from one to the other of the combatants, trying to pacify them. Seeing that neither of them is prepared to yield and be the first to retire from the field of battle, the gods stand between the combatants and make the fight impossible. Still the combatants are not pacified and will not leave the field. Finally the shades of his ancestors persuade Rāma to lay aside his weapons, which he then reluctantly does. That is sufficient for Bhīṣma. He puts down his bow and arrow, goes to Rāma, his *guru*, and prostrates

himself at his feet. They soon forget their quarrel and become friends again. Thus this titanic conflict between Bhīṣma and the Bhārgava Rāma, which is said to have lasted for three and twenty days, is utterly barren of any result beyond adding a few hundred lines to the text !

One peculiar thing we notice about this story is the sudden change of heart on the part of the Bhārgave Rāma. While in all other accounts of him he is represented as the inveterate foe of the Kṣatriyas and the epic bards are never weary of telling us that he had exterminated the Kṣatriyas thrice seven times, here we find him befriending the royal sage Hotravāhana and championing the lost cause of an unhappy Kṣatriya damsel ! The episode shows another inconsistency in the behaviour of Rāma ; for, here we are surprised with the statement that in Bhīṣma Rāma had taken a *Kṣatriya* pupil and had apparently taught him so well that the pupil knew not only as much as the *guru* but perhaps even more. This does not prevent him subsequently from cursing Karṇa, who had learnt the secrets of the science of arms from Rāma in the guise of a Brahmin but later had to confess that he was a Kṣatriya. There Rāma is reported to have said to Karṇa that the Brāhma weapon can never be learnt by one who is not a Brahmin (B. 12. 3. 31), though Bhīṣma had used the Brahma missile successfully against Rāma in the combat mentioned above.

BHĪṢMAPARVAN

With the Bhīṣmaparvan begin what may be called the " battle books, " which in some shape or other must have formed the kernel of the Mahābhārata, which kernel has served as a nucleus for the growth of a vast amount of secondary material, cohering together so as to form a more or less harmonious whole. A rough sketch of the original plan of the epic is preserved in a stanza occurring in one of the chapters of the first book (1. 55. 43) :

evem etat purāvṛttaṁ teṣām akliṣṭakāriṇām ।
bhedo rājyavināśaś ca jayaś ca jayatāṁ vara ॥

The Bhārata, according to this statement, was a trilogy consisting of the story of the dissension, loss of the kingdom, and victory, among some descendants of Bharata.

The Bhīṣmaparvan, according to the Vulgate, is divided into four sections (*upaparvans*). Of these the first two are mainly geographical tractates: Jambūkhaṇḍa-nirmāṇa-parvan and Bhūmi-parvan. The third is the famous philosophical discourse, the Bhagavadgītā, which is, so to say, the keystone of the whole new superstructure of the remodelled Bhārata and which has passed into world literature. The fourth and last section of this book is a lengthy account in eighty chapters (or about 4300 stanzas) of the fight of the first ten days of the Great War, up to the fall of Bhīṣma. After the Bhagavadgītā, the account of the fight runs on smoothly and is not allowed to be interrupted by any digressions. Consequently this sub-section also contains no Bhārgava episode or for that matter any other episodic narrative at all. But passing allusions to the Bhārgavas are not by any means wanting even in this final section of the Bhīṣmaparvan. They are, however, for the most part trivial and confined to the glorification of Rāma Jāmadagnya, playing on the theme of his encounter with Bhīṣma. The Bhārgava Rāma is subtly praised by saying that Bhīṣma was a hero whom even Rāma could not defeat.

But the Bhagavadgītā itself contains an interesting allusion to the Bhṛgus and that is in the tenth chapter, in the enumeration of the so called *vibhūtis* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. The *vibhūtis* are said to be infinite (*nāsty anto vistarasya me*, Gītā 10. 19 in the Vulgate version), but about sixty of them have been specifically enumerated and they are worthy of close study. Some of these *vibhūtis* are pure and simple gods, such as Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva and so on. Some are yet other supernatural beings, such as Kubera, Citraratha and others. Some are celestial luminaries such as the Sun, and the Moon. Some are merely terrestrial features such as mountains, rivers, the ocean and so on. Some are even animals such as the serpent (Śeṣa), elephant (Airāvata), eagle (Garuḍa) and so on. There are mentioned among these *vibhūtis* only nine human—or at least semi-human, that is, semi-divine—beings, whom we may regard as historical or semi-historical personalities. Three of them, Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Vyāsa, are well-known and important epic characters, and as such their inclusion in this list is expected and may be said

to be quite natural. They may therefore be ignored. Then, further, of divine sages (*devarṣis*), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa declares himself to be Nārada, the official messenger between the gods and the men. Of perfected beings (*siddhas*), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says, he is Kapila, a celebrated sage, probably the codifier of the Sāṁkhya, the system most popular with the epic bards. Of household priests, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa identifies himself, quite naturally again, with Bṛhaspati, the priest of the gods, one of the Aṅgirases, a clan closely connected with the Bhṛgus from very ancient times. There remain three; of these all—or at least two—are clearly Bhārgavas. Of Kavis, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says, he is Śukra, the Bhārgava priest of the Asuras, the asuric counterpart of Bṛhaspati. Of weapon-bearers (*śastra-bhṛt*), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa declares himself to be Rāma, who is identified by some authorities as Rāma son of Daśaratha, but who in my opinion is meant to be no other than the much lauded hero of the Mahābhārata poets, Rāma son of Jamadagni, the Bhārgava Rāma. Lastly, of great sages (*maharṣis*), Śrī-Kṛṣṇa says, he is Bhṛgu (*maharṣīṇāṁ Bhṛgur aham*, Gītā 10. 25). All other *vibhūtis* are more or less intelligible; for each *vibhūti* is or may be regarded, more or less, as the foremost or the first of a class; but why Bhṛgu should be considered as the *greatest* of the great sages (*maharṣis*) is somewhat enigmatic. He is not reckoned among the Seven Sages (*saptarṣis*). He is no doubt said to be a son of Brahmā, but Brahmā had nearly a dozen sons of that kind, who all became Prajāpatis and founders of *gotras*. And about Bhṛgu's greatness even the Mahābhārata has nothing to narrate beyond the fact that his wife Pulomā was abducted by a cannibal called Puloman (Ādi) or Daṁśa (Śānti), and that he had cursed various people.

DROṆAPARVAN

The Droṇaparvan supplies what is for our purpose one of the most interesting of Bhārgava references in the Mahābhārata.

On the thirteenth day of the Great War during Arjuna's temporary absence, Abhimanyu with a small following pierces the Kaurava ring-formation (*cakra-vyūha*), but Jayadratha intercepts his followers and isolates him, and Abhimanyu is slain after a brave fight: one of the most tragic episodes of the Great Epic.

To console Yudhiṣṭhira for the untimely death of Abhimanyu, Vyāsa tells him many stories illustrating the transitoriness of human life. At that time he relates how Nārada comforted Sṛñjaya in a time of bereavement by telling him of the sixteen kings of great merit, who nevertheless all died when their time came (adhy. 55–71 of the Vulgate). These kings were, as a matter of fact, all *cakravartins*, sovereigns who had conquered surrounding kingdoms or brought them under their sway and established a paramount position on more or less extensive regions around their own kingdoms. The episode, which is known as the Ṣoḍaśarājakīya, recounts the heroic deeds and the meritorious actions of sixteen of such famous kings of antiquity. The sixteen kings are these : (1) Marutta, son of Avikṣit; (2) Suhotra Ātithina; (3) Paurava (Bṛhadratha, king of Aṅga); (4) Śibi, son of Uśīnara; (5) Rāma, son of Daśaratha; (6) Bhagīratha, son of Dilīpa; (7) Dilīpa Ailavila; (8) Māndhātṛ, son of Yuvanāśva; (9) Yayāti, son of Nahuṣa; (10) Ambarīṣa, son of Nābhāga; (11) Śaśabindu, son of Citraratha; (12) Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas; (13) Rantideva, son of Saṁkṛti; (14) Bharata, son of Duḥṣanta; (15) Pṛthu, son of Vena; and, last but not least, (16) the Bhārgava Rāma, son of Jamadagni.

Accordingly we have here a vivid and colourful description of that great feat of the Bhārgava Rāma, the extirpation of Kṣatriyas, an account which courts mistrust by its appalling exaggeration and staggering figures (adhy. 70 of the Vulgate). We are told how Rāma took a vow to relieve the Earth of her burden of Kṣatriyas. Thereafter he first slew Kārtavīrya, who was never before defeated in battle. Then of Kṣatriyas he slaughtered 64,000, cutting off their ears and noses and breaking their teeth, besides stifling in smoke 7000 Haihayas (the clan to which Arjuna Kārtavirya belonged) and torturing them, and butchering 10,000 with his own axe. . . . Then the puissant son of Jamdagni, marching against the Kaśmīras, the Daradas, the Kuntis, the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas, the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas, the Videhas, the Tāmraliptakas, the Rakṣovāhas, the Vītihotras, the Trigartas, the Mārttikāvatas, the Śibis and other warrior races, thousands in number, slew them all with arrows of exceeding sharpness. Going from country to country, he slew

thousands and hundreds of thousands of Ksatriyas, creating a veritable deluge of blood and filling many lakes with it. . . . Then bringing under his sway all the eighteen divisions of the earth, that descendant of Bhrgu celebrated a hundred sacrifices, like a second Indra, when he gave away costly gifts (*daksinā*) to Brahmins. The sacrificial altar, full eight *nalas* high and made entirely of gold, embellished with hundreds of gems and adorned with thousands of banners, as also this earth abounding in domestic and wild animals, was accepted by Kaśyapa from the Bhārgava Rāma as his sacrificial fee for performing the sacrifice. Rāma also gave him many thousands of huge elephants adorned with golden ornaments. Freeing the earth of robbers that infested her, making her full of righteous and amiable people, Rāma gave the earth to Kaśyapa at his great horse sacrifice. Then comes the Bhārgava slogan (B. 7. 70. 20) :

trihsaptakrtvah prthivīṁ krtvā nihksatriyāṁ prabhuh । (IV)

Having cleared the earth of Ksatriyas thrice seven times, having celebrated a hundred sacrifices, Rāma gave the earth to the Brahmins. When the earth with her seven grand divisions was bestowed by him upon Kaśyapa, then the latter said to Rāma, " Go thou out of this earth at my command ! " Hearing these words of Kaśyapa, that foremost of weapon-bearers, obedient to the command of a Brahmin, caused the ocean to roll back and to give him a new strip of land to live in, and Rāma took up his abode on Mount Mahendra.

It is instructive to compare this Story of Sixteen Kings with a variant version of it in the Śānti (adhy. 29 of the Vulgate), as related to the same Yudhisthira by Śrī Krsna. After the battle the month of mourning is spent outside the capital on the banks of the Ganges. Yudhisthira, very dejected, proposes to renounce the kingdom and retire to the forest. At Arjuna's request, Krsna tries to console him and so relates to him the Story of Sixteen Kings, which Nārada had once related to king Srñjaya. The stories are naturally almost the same as those related to Yudhisthira by Vyāsa after the death of Abhimanyu. There is, however, one very striking difference. Fifteen of the kings in the list are the same ; the sixteenth " king " of the Drona list, namely, the Bhārgava Rāma, is conspicuous by his absence in the Śānti

list! He is replaced by a real king, Sagara son of Ikṣvāku, who was indeed a very famous king, fully deserving to be included in this list of the celebrated sixteen kings of antiquity, whereas the Bhārgava Rāma was no king at all and does not properly fall into this enumeration. His "extermination" of the Kṣatriyas was merely an act of vendetta. And although he is said to have conquered the whole earth, he never was crowned a king. Therefore the propriety of including his exploits in the Ṣoḍaśarājakīya is more than questionable. In fact it would never strike anybody except an unscrupulous Brahmin redactor—with strong Bhārgava leanings—to perpetrate such a tendentious perversion and father it upon Vyāsa.

KARṆAPARVAN

Karṇa is represented in our epic as a pupil of the Bhārgava Rāma, like Bhīṣma and Droṇa. So there are several casual references—in his capacity as the *guru* of Karṇa—to Rāma Jāmadagnya in the course of this parvan.

In adhy. 31 (of the Vulgate), we have a reference to the bow (Vijaya) which Karṇa had received from the Bhārgava Rāma, who in his turn had obtained it from Indra himself. Indra had used it in his fight with the Daityas: Rāma had used it in his campaign against the Kṣatriyas of the earth, which he had conquered thrice seven times (B. 8. 31. 46):

trihsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivī dhanuṣā yena nirjitā । (V)

On the seventeenth day of the war, Duryodhana persuades Śalya to be Karṇa's charioteer and to encourage him tells the story how Karṇa had become possessed even of celestial weapons through the Bhārgava Rāma.

To emphasize further the great importance of Karṇa, Duryodhana then narrates a story which shows the greatness of Karṇa's *guru*, Rāma Jāmadagnya (adhy. 34 of the Vulgate). Rāma is generally represented in the Mahābhārata as a man—or rather a Superman—who had fought his battles on this earth with other human beings like himself. Here we are told that he had fought with and vanquished even the Daityas. The story is this. To obtain celestial weapons from Mahādeva, Rāma (like the Paṇḍava Arjuna later) was practising terrible austerities. At that time

the Asuras had become so powerful that even all the gods together could not subdue them, and so Mahādeva asks the Bhārgava Rāma to fight with them (as Arjuna later fought with the Nivātakavacas and other demons). Rāma went up to the Asuras and said to them, "Most invincible in battle as you are, O Daityas, give me battle". Then the Daityas began to fight with Rāma. Then that delighter of the Bhārgava clan slaughtered those Daityas, on the battlefield by strokes that were like the strokes from Indra's thunderbolt. After Rāma had vanquished the invincible Asuras without the use of any special weapons, then Mahādeva gave him those celestial missiles for which Rāma was practising the terrible austerities. Perhaps feeling that the story might be disbelieved, Duryodhana hastens to add that he had heard it himself from the lips of a pious and truthful Brahmin while the latter was relating it to king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana's father.

Then in adhy. 42 (of the Vulgate), Karṇa relates that under the guise of a Brahmin he had been a disciple of the Bhārgava Rāma in order to learn from him the secret of certain magical missiles known to Rāma alone. One day while Rāma was sleeping with his head resting in the lap of Karṇa, the thigh of the latter was bored through by Indra (Arjuna's *de facto* father) in the form of a ferocious centipede, and Karṇa was weltering in blood but did not move a muscle, for fear of disturbing the sleep of his *guru* and thus incurring his displeasure. When Rāma woke up and saw this state of things, he concluded that his disciple was no Brahmin, as only a Kṣatriya could suffer such agony and keep still. Then Karṇa confesses his guilt and begs Rāma's pardon. Rāma pronounces a curse on Karṇa, saying that at the critical moment the magical missiles of which he had obtained knowledge from Rāma by such a dastardly trick—even the great Yogi could not see through it—would fail him. Brahma could never reside firmly in one who is not a Brahmin: *abrāhmaṇe brahma na hi dhruvaṁ syāt* (B. 8. 42. 9.). And so it happened, needless to say.

In a variant version of this tale (Śānti 3 in the Vulgate) the worm which had bored through Karṇa's thigh is said to have been not Indra in disguise, but a demon suffering the effects of a curse pronounced on him by Bhṛgu!

ŚALYAPARVAN

In the Śalyaparvan there are only stray references to the Bhārgavas, especially in the account of Balarāma's pilgrimage—another very obvious digression—during which Balarāma visits of course all the places sacred to the Bhārgavas such as Rāmatīrtha, Samantapañcaka and so on, which lay on his way.

At Rāmatīrtha we have a repetition of the story that Kaśyapa officiated at the sacrifice celebrated by Rāma Bhārgava after conquering the whole earth and annihilating the Kṣatriyas (B. 9. 49. 7 f.):

yatra Rāmo mahābhāgo Bhārgavaḥ sumahātapāḥ ॥
asakṛt pṛthivīm jitvā hatakṣatriyapuṁgavām ।
upādhyāyaṁ puraskṛtya Kaśyapaṁ munisattamam ॥
ayajad vājapeyena so 'śvamedhaśatena ca ।
pradadau dakṣiṇāṁ caiva pṛthivīṁ vai sasāgarām ॥

SAUPTIKAPARVAN

The Sauptika is one of the few books of the Mahābhārata which are entirely, or almost entirely, free from reference to the Bhārgavas. The book is short, consisting of 18 chapters and about 800 stanzas in the Vulgate version, and comprises only two *sub-parvans*: the Sauptika and the Aiṣīka. The first *sub-parvan* describes the slaughter of the sleepers in the camp of the Pāṇḍavas, while the second gives an account of the use of the world-destroying dart Aiṣīka by Aśvatthāman.

STRĪPARVAN

In the next book, the Strīparvan, which like the former is short, consisting of 27 chapters and about 800 stanzas in the Vulgate version, there are only three incidental references to the Bhārgavas. The *parvan* consists almost wholly of the description of the obsequial ceremonies of the warriors killed in the war and lamentations of women over their dead kinsfolk, which is fortunately held free from digressions and interpolations. The tragedy also does not permit the development of any other sentiment. The absence of reference to the Bhārgavas, who, as already remarked, had strictly speaking no connection whatsoever with the Kuru-Pañcāla heroes, is not only thoroughly

appropriate, but is an omission for which we may be truly grateful to the redactors of our Mahābhārata.

ŚĀNTIPARVAN

The Śānti, which is in essence a manual of instruction in king-craft (*rājadharma*), conduct in time of calamity (*āpaddharma*) and emancipation (*mokṣadharma*) compiled in the peculiar pedagogic technique developed by the redactors of the Great Epic for the edification of the people combined with their entertainment, supplies its quota of Bhārgava material, making up in some measure for the deficiency of the last three books.

Already in adhy. 2 f (of the Vulgate) we hear of the Bhārgava Rāma. The month of mourning is spent by the Pāṇḍavas outside the capital on the banks of the Ganges. There Nārada relates to Yudhiṣṭhira the story of the early career of Karṇa, which is here said to be a secret of the gods (*deva-guhya*). In the course of the narrative Nārada repeats with more details the story we have already noticed as to how Karṇa had easily deceived the Bhārgava Rāma and obtained from him the carefully guarded secret of the famous Brahma missile (*brahmāstra*) under the false pretence of being a Brahmin, and a Bhṛgu too. An interesting point of difference between this version of the story and that given in the Karṇaparvan is, as mentioned already, that the worm which bites Karṇa and bores a hole through his leg is not Indra but a demon called Daṁśa, who had tried to carry off Bhṛgu's wife. If this wife be Pulomā, then her ravisher's name was given as Puloman in adhy. 4 of the Ādi, where, however, there is no mention of Bhṛgu's curse ; but we are told on the other hand that the ravisher of Pulomā was reduced to ashes by Bhṛgu's son Cyavana. But perhaps this demon Daṁśa is some other ravisher of Bhṛgu's wife.

In any event the happy result of this discourse of the sage was that Yudhiṣṭhira, casting off grief, enters the capital in state, is installed on the throne and performs the obsequial ceremonies of his departed kinsmen. Later Kṛṣṇa in an ecstatic trance communes with the distant Bhīṣma, who remains lying on the battlefield on a bed of arrows and who in a long hymn of adoration invokes Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa then sets out with the Pāṇḍava brothers and his followers

to visit Bhīṣma on his deathbed. The arrival of the party at the battlefield, which it will be remembered has been identified by the redactors of the epic with the Bhārgava *tīrtha* Samantapañcaka, affords an easy opportunity for another repetition of the legend of Rāma's heroic exploit. That was the very spot where the Bhārgava Rāma had established those five lakes of blood. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa in passing points to those lakes and says (B. 12. 48. 9):

triḥsaptakṛtvo vasudhāṁ kṛtvā niḥkṣatriyāṁ prabhuḥ |
ihedānīṁ tato Rāmaḥ karmaṇo virarāma ha || (VI)

Yudhiṣṭhira, the " dummy " of the rhapsode, has an insatiable longing to hear all about the extermination of the Kṣatriyas by the Bhārgava Rāma though he had heard it all before from other story-tellers, and he has besides some doubts which he forthwith refers to Kṛṣṇa (B. 12. 48. 10):

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivī kṛtā niḥkṣatriyā purā |
Rāmeṇeti tathāttha tvam atra me saṁśayo mahān || (VII)

To solve this doubt of Yudhiṣṭhira Kṛṣṇa gratuitously volunteers to repeat the whole story of Rāma from the very beginning, a full-size account of the birth of the Bhārgava Rāma, of the extirpation of the Kṣatriyas and of the subsequent regeneration of the race. Here we have now an attestation of the entire story by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, a variant of the story told by Akṛtavraṇa, a desciple of Rāma, to Yudhiṣṭhira himself in the Āraṇyaka. There are naturally several discrepancies between the two versions, two of which are noteworthy. In the first version it was Satyavatī's father in-law who prepares the magical *carus*, which were subsequently exchanged by the good ladies who were to partake of them; here it is Satyavatī's husband himself, Ṛcīka, who prepares them. The other is a somewhat more serious discrepancy. In the Āraṇyaka version, Jamadagni was robbed of his calf by Arjuna Kārtavīrya himself, who is represented there as a perfect fiend. In the story as told by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna is a perfect angel of a man, always devoted to peace, ever obedient to Brahmins and ready to protect all classes; he had given away the earth to Brahmins in a horse sacrifice which he had performed. His sons on the other hand were " proud and cruel ", and it was they who brought away the calf of Jamadagni's sacrificial

cow. As it is difficult, at this distance of time, in the absence of independent evidence, to say whether Akṛtavraṇa or Śrī-Kṛṣṇa was more truthful, it must remain a moot point whether the guilty party is Arjuna Kārtavīrya or his sons. Then Śrī-Kṛṣṇa goes on to tell Yudhiṣṭhira that the Kṣatriyas were annihilated by the Bhārgava Rāma thrice seven times, speaking exactly like a Bhārgava (B. 12. 49. 64) :

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivīm kṛtvā niḥkṣatriyām prabhuḥ ।
dakṣiṇām aśvamedhānte Kaśyapāyādadat tataḥ ॥ (VIII)

The matter being now attested by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa himself, it cannot be described by revilers of Brahmins as a fabrication made by the Brahmins themselves.

It must always have been something of a puzzle to all thoughtful persons where Kṣatriyas like the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas and even Śrī-Kṛṣṇa himself came from after the Kṣatriya race had been wiped out thrice seven times by the Bhārgava Rāma, and that was in fact Yudhiṣṭhira's doubt, which he had expressed to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Various explanations of the mystery have been propounded. In the earlier chapters of the epic, as we have seen several times, it was the pious Brahmins who procreated children on the widows of the Kṣatriyas slain by Rāma and they became Kṣatriyas by the Vedic rule *pāṇigrāhasya tanayaḥ* (1. 98. 5) : the child belongs to him who has gone through the form of marriage with the mother. That was however not the view of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. His explanation was that the Earth had concealed some Kṣatriyas. She had concealed some Haihayas among women, some Pauravas among the bears of Mount Ṛkṣavant. Some other Kṣatriyas were brought up in the forest among the kine, some in the cowpens among the calves. Some were protected by the Ocean, some by the wolves on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa. These had all escaped destruction at the hands of the formidable Bhārgava. And the old Kṣatriya dynasties were resuscitated by Kaśyapa, who first ordered Rāma to clear out from the earth which he had given to Kaśyapa as a part of the sacrificial fee and restored by and by those scions of the old Kṣatriya families to their rightful heritage. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa evidently did not know anything about the procreation of Kṣatriyas by pious Brahmins on the widows of the Kṣatriyas slaughtered by the bloodthirsty Bhārgava. He con-

cludes by remarking that the present Ksatriyas are the legitimate offsprings of those ancient Kṣatriyas (B. 12. 49. 88 f.):

tataḥ pṛthivyā nirdiṣṭāṁs tān samānīya Kaśyapaḥ ।
abhyaṣiñcan mahīpālān kṣatriyān vīryasaṁmatān ॥
teṣāṁ putrāś ca pautrāś ca yeṣāṁ vaṁśāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ ।

At the beginning of the third great sub-division of the Śānti, the Mokṣadharma, we have a lengthy discourse attributed to Bhṛgu, called the Bhṛgu-Bhāradvāja-saṁvāda (adhy. 182–192 of the Vulgate), which summarizes in the form of questions and answers almost the entire Brahmanic teaching on the subject of (1) the elements, (2) life and death, (3) caste distinctions, (4) good and evil, (5) the four stages of life, and finally (6) the other world. It will be seen that it is a complete tractate on Hindu Ontology, Sociology, Eschatology and Ethics that is here attributed to Bhṛgu, the eponymous ancestor of the Bhārgavas.

The oft-cited stanza B. 12. 339. 103 f. :

Haṁsaḥ Kūrmaś ca Matsyaś ca prādurbhāvād dvijottama ।
Varāho Narasiṁhaś ca Vāmano Rāma eva ca ।
Rāmo Dāśarathiś caiva Sātvataḥ Kalkir eva ca ।

from the Mokṣadharma is important as containing one of the two actual references in our Mahābhārata to the Bhārgava Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, one of his ten *avatāras*; but the passage is suspect, as it is missing in some Grantha MSS. and some old Devanāgarī MSS. which have been collated by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for a critical edition of that book. The other reference is in the same chapter, a few stanzas earlier (B. 12. 339. 84):

Tretāyuge bhaviṣyāmi Rāmo Bhṛgukulodvahaḥ ।
Kṣatraṁ cotsādayiṣyāmi samṛddhabalavāhanam ॥

This stanza cannot be impugned on the score of documentary evidence, which is unanimous in its favour. But both references occur in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mokṣadharma, which is notoriously a late addition to our Mahābhārata. This shows that the theory of *avatāras* is still developing in the epic and their number is not yet fixed, nor are the *avatāras* fully canonized. It should thus seem that the Mahābhārata does not

necessarily presuppose the Bhārgava Rāma to be an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

ANUŚĀSANAPARVAN

The Anuśāsana, for some reason that is not yet quite clear, is the richest in Bhārgava material.

Early in the beginning of this book (adhy. 4), we have the *third* repetition of the legend of the birth of Jamadagni. The previous chapter (3) relates the mighty deeds of the Kṣatriya Viśvāmitra, which led to his attaining the coveted status of a Brahmin. In adhy. 4, Bhīṣma explains how it came about that Viśvāmitra who was of mingled Brahmin and Kṣatriya parentage was born in the Kṣatriya caste with Brahmanic qualities, while his nephew Jamadagni, under similar conditions, was born in the Brahmin caste with Kṣatriyan qualities. We have here a repetition of the old story how Ṛcīka married Gādhi's daughter Satyavatī, who obtained some boons for herself and her mother. The mother and the daughter exchange the trees they had to embrace and the *carus* of which they had to partake. The wise Ṛcīka had purposely made the prescriptions differently. He had in fact put the entire accumulated energy of Brahmanism in the *caru* of his wife, while he had put the entire accumulated energy of Kṣatriyahood in the *caru* intended for her mother. The consequence of the exchange slyly effected by the mother was that the son of Gādhi's wife turned out to be a man with Brahmanic propensities, while the son of Ṛcīka's wife would have been a model Kṣatriya; but, owing to the pleadings of Satyavatī, the great sage graciously gives his consent to the postponement of the doom to Satyavatī's grand-son.

This story we have had at Āraṇyaka 115 and Śānti 49 of the Vulgate. In passing it may be mentioned that the present version agrees with the Śāntiparvan version in making Ṛcīka the giver of the boons, whereas in the Āraṇyaka version this person is some ancestor of Ṛcīka, either Ṛcīka's father or perhaps Bhṛgu himself.

The mere mention of Bhārgava Rāma in B. 13. 14. 273 at once calls forth the reaction ;

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivī yena niḥkṣatriyā kṛtā ।
Jāmadagnyena Govinda Rameṇākliṣṭakarmaṇā ॥ etc. (IX)

In adhy. 30 (of the Vulgate) we are told how a Kṣatriya Vītahavya was made a Brahmin by the mere word of a Bhṛgu. The story is as follows.

Vatsa, a descendant of Śaryāti had two sons, Haihaya and Tālajaṅgha. The hundred sons of Haihaya attackad and killed Haryaśva, king of Kāśī, whose son Sudeva succeeded him on the throne. Sudeva was likewise defeated and killed by the Haihayas. Sudeva was succeeded by Divodāsa, who built Vārāṇasī, on the northern bank of the Ganges and the southern bank of the Gomatī. Likewise defeated by the Haihayas, he fled to his priest Bharadvāja, who obtained for him, through sacrifice, a son Pratardana. The son of Divodāsa defeated in turn all the Haihayas, when Vītahavya pursued by Pratardana, fled to the hermitage of Bhṛgu. When Pratardana demanded from Bhṛgu the surrender of Vītahavya, who was hiding in Bhṛgu's hermitage, Bhṛgu in order to save the life of Vītahavya said that there were only Brahmins in the hermitage. Through that declaration of Bhṛgu, who could not tell a lie, Vītahavya actually became a Brahmin. His descendants are set out for fifteen generations. His son was Gṛtsamada, whose eleventh descendant was Pramati; his son was Ruru; his son was Śunaka, from whom came the Śaunakas.

In adhy. 40, Bhīṣma expatiates on the fascination and frailty of women, the root of all evil, and to support his statement he relates the story of Vipula, another Bhārgava, an interesting story in which mesmerism or hypnotism plays some part (Vipulopākhyāna, adhy. 40-43 in the Vulgate).

The sage Devaśarman, the story goes, had a beautiful wife Ruci (Beauty) by name, who had attracted the attention of the gay king of the gods, Indra. Once upon a time it so happened that Devaśarman had to go away from his hermitage on some sacrificial business. Not feeling quite sure about his little Ruci, the old sage taking into his confidence his disciple, the Bhārgava Vipula, told him to protect his slender-waisted wife, especially against the amorous advances of Indra, who was an adept at assuming different forms at will. Devaśarman pathetcally ien-

joined his disciple to take every care and see that lascivious king of the celestials did not defile that frivolous wife of his, like a wretched dog licking the *havis* placed near the sacrificial altar. To protect the virtue of Ruci, who was peerless on earth in beauty, Vipula decided to enter into her by his yogic power and live in her without her being conscious of it, until the critical moment was passed. Indra comes as expected and makes overtures to the beautiful Ruci, who had captivated his mind. Ruci, though anxious to reciprocate, remains externally indifferent to the blandishments of Indra, through the influence of Vipula, who was living within her and guiding her actions. Indra, puzzled by the behaviour of Ruci, reflects and realizes how matters stand. At that moment Vipula leaves the body of Ruci and re-enters his own body. Then Vipula faces the philanderer and soundly rebukes him, and Indra slinks away abashed. Only *one* man had been able to protect a woman and that was the Bhārgava Vipula (B. 13. 43. 27):

tenaikena tu rakṣā vai Vipulena kṛtā striyāḥ ।
nānyaḥ śaktas triloke 'smin rakṣituṁ nṛpa yoṣitam ॥

This story was told by the Bhārgava Mārkaṇḍeya to Bhīṣma (B. 13. 43. 18) and repeated by the latter to Yudhiṣṭhira.

A few chapters later we have again a Bhārgava story, the Cyavanopākhyāna in seven chapters (50–56), which is divided into two parts: the first two chapters (50–51) illustrate the sanctity of cows, the last five deal really with that topic of perennial interest, the mingled Brahmin and Kṣatriya parentage of the Bhārgava Rāma.

In the first story, in which a cow was found to be the only equivalent possible for the ransom of the sage Cyavana, may be passed over.

In the second story (adhy. 52–56), we come back to the anecdote of Rāma Jāmadagnya, and we have here practically a repetition of the explanation given above (in adhy. 4 of this very *parvan*) of the circumstances under which Viśvāmitra, who was of mixed Brahmin and Kṣatriya parentage was born in the Kṣatriya caste with Brahmanic qualities, while Rāma under similar conditions was born in the Brahmin caste with the oppo-

site qualities. The repetition comes about in this way. Yudhiṣṭhira, whose curiosity about the Bhārgava Rāma is, as already remarked, never satisfied, says to Bhīṣma (B. 13. 52. 1 ff.): "I have a great curiosity, O Lord, about Jamadagni's son Rāma, that foremost of all righteous persons. You should satisfy that curiosity. How was Rāma born, that truly valorous hero? He belonged by birth to a family of Brahmin sages. How did he become a follower of Kṣatriyan practices? Relate to me in detail the circumstances of Rāma's birth. Also how did a man born in the family of the Kuśikas, who was a Ksatriya, become a Brahmin? Great indeed was the power of the high-souled Rāma as also that of Viśvāmitra!"

The answer is given by Bhīṣma by relating the prophecy which had been made by Cyavana, an ancestor of the Bhārgava Rāma. Cyavana wants to prevent the harm that will come to his clan by Rāma's adopting the practices of the Kṣatriyas, a danger of which he has *prophetic* knowledge. He repairs to Kuśika, through whose descendant the harm was to happen, in order to vex him, and, if he finds a favourable opportunity, to pronounce a malediction on Kuśika, damning him and his descendants to eternal perdition. When the sage presents himself before the king and says that he wants to observe a certain vow while living in the palace with the king, he is warmly welcomed with unfeigned joy, and also served with meticulous care and obsequiousness by the king and the queen. The sage has a meal and he then sleeps for twenty-one days, during which the king and the queen wait upon him without food or drink, gently shampooing his legs. Suddenly the sage wakes up and goes out, followed with trepidation by the king and the queen, and as suddenly vanishes! The king looks for him in vain, and, returning in a dejected mood to the room set apart for the sage, finds him again, stretched as before on his luxurious bed! The sage practises many tricks of this type, calculated to try the patience of the unfortunate couple, and ultimately yokes them to a heavily laden war-chariot. During the drive through the city, the sage gives the royal couple vicious digs with a heavy iron goad, distributing all the while in charity the entire wealth of the king. Still the sage finds no change in their behaviour. So in the end he has to

express himself as satisfied with their treatment of him and he goes back to the forest, asking the royal couple to come there on the following day. The king and queen take a little rest for the first time after forty-two days of trial and spend the night happily in each other's company. The next morning the king and queen go to the forest to pay their respects to the sage and see there a magnificent palace standing in a big park, a fair imitation of Indra's paradise. After a short while, the magical palace and the park vanish, and there sits in the solitude of the forest the sage who had yoked them to the chariot and ill-treated them in other ways. Then the king feels that Brahmic power was the *summum bonum* of life. When he approaches Cyavana, the sage gives him a boon. Kuśika wants to know why Cyavana had come to live with him and what all those incidents implied. Cyavana tells him frankly what his intention was and also prophesies that Kuśika's wish would be fulfilled in so far that a descendant of Kuśika's (Visvāmitra) would become a Brahmin. *Through the lustre of the Bhṛgus*, Kuśika's grandson (Viśvāmitra) would be an ascetic endowed with the splendour of fire (B. 13. 55. 32):

Bhṛgūṇām eva tejasā ।
Pautras te bhavitā vipras tapasvī pāvakadyutiḥ ॥

Then follows in the final chapter Cyavana's prophecy about the persecution of the Bhṛgus, about Ūrva (or Aurva), about Ṛcīka, and Jamadagni, who will marry Gādhi's daughter, that is, Kuśika's grand-daughter. Of the boons that will be given to the two ladies by Bhṛgu, the exchange of the trees and the *carus* by the mother and the daughter, about Viśvāmitra, and so on and so forth. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this is the *fourth* occurrence of this interesting story of the birth of the Bhārgava Rāma, it having occurred already at adhy. 4 of this very *parvan*, and before that in the Śānti (adhy. 48) and the Āraṇyaka (adhy. 115–117).

Some chapters later we again meet with the Bhārgava Rāma when Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira about the merit of the gift of gold. The shades of his ancestors had appeared to Bhīṣma and told him that the gift of gold purifies the giver. Now it happens that the same advice had been given to the Bhārgava Rāma by Vasiṣṭha and other sages. In this connection we have again an

allusion to the extirpation of the Kṣatriyas and the conquest of the earth by Rāma (B. 13. 84. 31):

triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivī kṛtā niḥkṣatriyā purā ।
tato jitvā mahīm kṛtsnām Rāmo rājīvalocanaḥ ॥ etc. (X)

The next chapter (85), a long rambling chapter with 168 stanzas, deals with the mystery, already alluded to above, of the birth of Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras and Kavi. They are said to be *prajāpatis* and progenitors of many tribes and clans, in fact of the entire mankind.

It will be a surprise to many that our sandals and umbrellas we also owe to a Bhṛgu. Chapter 95 relates how the practice arose of giving umbrellas and sandals to Brahmins at *śrāddhas* and other religious rites. Once upon a time Jamadagni was amusing himself by shooting arrows at a distant target, and his wife Reṇukā was fetching the arrows shot by him. Sorely afflicted by the scorching heat of the midday sun, she rested just for a moment under the shade of an umbrageous tree. Being kept waiting, the irascible Bhṛgu scolded his wife for her tardiness, but on learning the real cause of the delay, wanted to shoot down the offending sun from his high position in the heavens. The frightened luminary comes to him in the guise of a poor Brahmin, who tries to dissuade him from carrying out his terrible threat, but is recognized by the Bhṛgu and reprimanded. In the end Jamadagni is pacified and receives from the sun the first umbrella and the first pair of leather sandals. To make a gift of them to Brahmins is highly meritorious. This account of the origin of shoes and sandals is, I believe, not found outside the Mahābhārata.

In adhy. 98 (of the Vulgate) we have a report by Bhīṣma of a discussion between the Bhārgava Śukra and Bali about flowers, lamps, aromatics, appropriate to be offered to gods on diverse occasions and the merit accruing from the presentation.

Above, while discussing the Droṇaparvan version of the Ṣoḍaśarājakīya, I had referred to palpable evidence of the "bhṛguization" of a legend. We have another illuminating instance of the process in the next story (adhy. 99-100 of the

Vulgate) told by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira. It is another version of the well-known legend of Nahuṣa's fall from heaven.

Nahuṣa, when king of the gods, neglected the daily offerings to the gods including the *bali*, losing thereby some of his spiritual power. Subsequently, having oppressed the sages, he was hurled down from heaven and turned into a boa by the curse of a Brahmin sage, Bhṛgu.

A simpler version of this legend occurs in the Udyoga (adhy. 11-17) and is again alluded to in the Śānti (adhy. 342). There it is related that Nahuṣa became extremely arrogant and caused the sages to carry his palanquin. While being carried about in this way, his foot touched the head of Agastya, who by his curse turned him into a boa. The defect in the construction of this naïve story is very obvious and must have been early noticed by the diaskeuasts themselves. Nahuṣa, by the terms of the boon which Brahmā and the gods had foolishly given him, could absorb the power of any being on whom he set his eyes. Under these circumstances, even the resourceful Agastya could not effectively curse Nahuṣa, because Agastya, when kicked by the tyrant, being in full view of the other, was *ipso facto* deprived of all his spiritual power, like all the gods and sages who had been oppressed by Nahuṣa and were utterly powerless before him.

The revised version of the legend in the Anūśāsana stages beforehand a confabulation between Bhṛgu and Agastya. Agastya wants to damn Nahuṣa but does not know how to. Bhṛgu befriends him and gives him the assurance that he (Bhṛgu) would somehow bring about the downfall of the tyrant. Bhṛgu, who knows beforehand, by spiritual prevision, that Nahuṣa was going to kick Agastya, proposes to Agastya, in anticipation of it, that on a certain day he would sit *hidden* inside the matted locks of the sage and from that position he would curse Nahuṣa. So when the opportune moment came, Bhṛgu, possessed of great lustre, addressed Agastya as follows : " Do you shut your eyes, Agastya, while I enter into the matted hair of your head ". Having said this, Bhṛgu of unfading glory and great energy entered into the locks of Agastya, who stood still like a wooden post. Soon after, Nahuṣa saw Agastya approach for being yoked to his chariot. Bhṛgu, who was sitting in the matted locks of Agastya, took

care not to look at Nahuṣa. Fully acquainted with the power which the illustrious Nahuṣa had acquired on account of the boon which Brahmā had given him, Bhṛgu had acted thus. Agastya though thus treated by Nahuṣa did not yield to anger. Then Nahuṣa urged Agastya with his goad. The pious sage Agastya still did not yield to anger. The lord of celestials, himself enraged at this pusillanimity, then struck Agastya on the head with his left foot. When the sage was thus struck on the head, then Bhṛgu, who was sitting within the matted locks of Agastya, became incensed and cursed the sinful Nahuṣa saying, " Thou hast kicked the head of the great sage, fall down therefore on the earth, changed into a boa! " Thus imprecated by Bhṛgu, *who had not been seen*, Nahuṣa forthwith became transformed into a boa and in that form dropped down on the earth.

Yudhiṣṭhira, who had heard a different version of the story from Śalya, as narrated in the Udyoga, maintains naturally a discreet silence about these discrepancies and proceeds to question Bhīṣma about some other matters on which he wanted information.

Next, in the course of a long passage devoted to the praise of Brahmins, showing that the Brahmins are mightier than even the gods, the story of Cyavana is repeated (adhy. 156).

Cyavana, who had been rejuvenated and cured of blindness by the Aśvins, had, as we have seen, promised them that they should drink Soma with Indra and the other gods. The gods were wavering in their mind, but Indra was adamant. He refused to accept the Soma libation in Cyavana's sacrifice, if those low-caste Aśvins were invited at the same time. When Cyavana was going to put his magic in operation, Indra rushes on him with a mountain and thunderbolt, but is instantly paralyzed by Cyavana and brought to submission. Then Cyavana creates a fearsome monster, Mada, who is about to gobble up all the gods. Beseeched by the gods, who were frightened to death by this terrible apparition, Indra apologizes to Cyavana; and the Aśvins, patronized by the great wizard, are allowed to share the Soma libation with the other gods. This story was already narrated to Yudhiṣṭhira by the sage Lomaśa in the Āraṇyaka (adhy. 123 of the Vulgate).

AŚVAMEDHAPARVAN

An echo of the above story we find early in the course of the Aśvamedhaparvan. In adhy. 9 we find Agni taunting Indra about the humiliation of the latter at the hands of Cyavana, which has been just described (B. 14. 9. 31):

yatra Śaryātim Cyavano yājayiṣyan
sahāśvibhyāṁ somam agṛhṇād ekaḥ ।
taṁ tvaṁ kruddhaḥ pratyaṣedhīḥ purastāc-
Charyātiyajñaṁ smara taṁ Mahendra ॥

Agni may have added the story of his own humiliation at the hands of another wizard of the same clan, Bhṛgu, when he was indiscreet enough to divulge some secret to Puloman, the seducer of Bhṛgu's wife Pulomā, but for obvious reasons he does not do so.

In another digression, the Anugītāparvan, we have an allusion to the annihilation of Kṣatriyas by the Bhārgava Rāma, used this time for a different purpose (adhy. 29–30 of the Vulgate). It is here made the basis of a homily on the vanity of life. After the murder of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and the extermination of the Kṣatriyas, the Bhārgava Rāma was taught by the shades of his ancestors that greater than any victory over kings was the conquest of one's own self : the ascetic ideal. This conquest is made by self-mortification. Thus admonished by his departed ances tors, the Bhārgava Rāma practised the most austere penances, and as a consequence of this excercise of self-control, that highly blessed one acquired that supreme felicity which it is so difficult to obtain.

The last Bhārgava story of the Mahābhārata is the Uttaṅkopākhyāna of this *parvan* (adhy. 53–58 of the Vulgate), which we shall next consider.

After the death of Bhīṣma, Kṛṣṇa returns to Dvārakā. On his way he meets in a desert the sage Uttaṅka, who is ready to pronounce a malediction on Kṛṣṇa when he learns that the latter had not brought about peace between the contending Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa pacifies Uttaṅka by enlightening him about his divine nature and divine mission, complaining that the Kurus, intoxicated as they were by the pride of pomp and power, had not listened to the wholesome advice he had given

them for their welfare. At Uttaṅka's request, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa shows him his cosmic form (*rūpam aiśvaram*), made popular by the Gītā, giving him rare boons.

This story impels the intelligent Janamejaya to ask Vaiśaṁpāyana what penances the great Uttaṅka had practised so that he had the temerity to threaten even Viṣṇu (Śrī-Kṛṣṇa). Vaiśaṁpāyana replies that it was his supreme devotion to his *guru* that had endowed him with this great spiritual power, and he proceeds to relate the story of Uttaṅka. He relates how Uttaṅka had escaped being eaten by the cannibal king Saudāsa and obtained the ear-jewels of Saudāsa's queen Madayantī as fee for his *guru* Gautama, how on the way the ear-jewels were stolen by a snake (*nāga*), and how Uttaṅka recovered them from the subterranean world of the Nāgas.

It will be noticed that this Uttaṅkopākhyāna is but a variant (metrical) version of Pauṣyaparvan, a (prose) sub-section of the Ādi (adhy. 3), but with some significant differences in the details. The *dramatis personae* are in part different. The preceptor is not Veda, as in the Ādi, but Gotama, the husband of Ahalyā ; likewise the king from whom Uttaṅka gets the ear-jewels is here not Pauṣya but Saudāsa (Kalmāṣapāda), who had become a cannibal by the curse of some great sage, whom the arrogant king had belaboured with a hunter. Mereover, in the first version, the name of the snake is given as Takṣaka, the snake which had bitten king Parikṣit and been the cause of his premature death ; in the second he remains nameless. The only reason for citing the story of Uttaṅka here, in this paper, is that in the Aśvamedha version of the story Uttaṅka is several times called a Bhārgava, a fact which does not appear from the Ādiparvan version. We have thus here a documentation for a Bhārgava, who by the power of his austerities—devotion to one's *guru* is a kind of *tapas*—was in a position to curse an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu himself for his apparent fault in not conciliating the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas and preventing the fratricidal war, and who had to be gently pacified by the great god by showing him his cosmic form to support his asservations.

If we now go back to the Ādi. we shall find that this figure of Uttaṅka has been further deftly woven into the fabric of

the epic and not allowed to remain merely as a loose appendage. For, in the short *metrical* tail of the (prose) Pauṣyaparvan, it is narrated that, after his adventure in the world of the Nāgas, Uttaṅka betakes himself straight to the Pāṇḍava Janamejaya in Hāstinapura and prevails upon the king to punish Takṣaka for causing the death of Parikṣit. At Uttaṅka's instance Janamejaya instituted the snake sacrifice ; and at this sacrifice Vaiśaṁpayana first recited the Mahābhārata. Now the Mahābhārata that we *now* possess is said to have been recited by the Sūta Ugraśravas before Śaunaka exactly as he had heard it during the recitation of the poem by Vyāsa's own pupil Vaiśaṁpāyana at the famous snake sacrifice which was instituted by king Janamejaya at the instigation of Uttaṅka. Our debt to this Bhārgava is therefore very obvious. This Uttaṅkopākhyāna contains the last important reference in the Mahābhārata to the Bhārgavas, linking up with that in adhy. 3 of the Ādi.

There are still a few more Bhārgava stories in the Mahābhārata, the consideration of which I had intentionally postponed and to which we shall now turn.

We run into a nest of Bhārgava legends, as a matter of fact, already in the fourth sub-section of the Ādi, the Paulomaparvan, which have not been discussed above.

The Mahābhārata, as is well known, has two variant openings. In the first (Ādi 1), when the Sūta (or, according to some editions, Sauti) Ugraśravas, who is to recite the Mahābhārata, presents himself at the hermitage of Kulapati Śaunaka, during the twelve-year sacrificial session inaugurated by the sage in the sacred Naimiṣa Forest and offers to recite stories for the edification and entertainment of the guests, the sages assembled there express their desire to hear the celebrated Mahābhārata (1. 1. 18 f.) :

Janamejayasya yāṁ rājño Vaiśaṁpāyana uktavān ।
yathāvat sa ṛṣis tuṣṭyā satre Dvaipāyanājñayā ॥
vedaiś caturbhiḥ samitāṁ Vyāsasyādbhutakarmaṇaḥ ।
saṁhitāṁ śrotum icchāmo dharmyāṁ pāpabhayāpahāṁ ॥

The Sūta accordingly commences with some *maṅgala* stanzas (1. 1. 20) :

ādyaṁ puruṣam īśānaṁ puruhūtaṁ puruṣṭutam |
ṛtam ekākṣaraṁ brahma vyaktāvyaktaṁ sanātanam || etc.,

which are followed by a sort of prologue, which latter languishes and breaks off somewhere.

In adhy. 4 of the Ādi, we come upon another opening, which totally ignores the first! The Sūta is re-introduced. The scene is the same, but the programme is changed. Here the assembled sages do not themselves order the entertainment, but ask the Sūta to wait until the Kulapati Śaunaka comes. When in the next chapter (5), the Kulapati joins the company, after having duly performed his round of daily duties, he instead of asking the Sūta to narrate the Mahābhārata, as the sages in the first instance had done, tells him, strange to say, to relate first the history of the *Bhārgavas* (1. 5. 3):

tatra vaṁśam ahaṁ pūrvaṁ śrotum icchāmi Bhārgavam |
kathayasva kathām etāṁ kalyāḥ sma śravaṇe tava ||

The Sūta obediently proceeds to relate the history of that "most illustrious family of the Bhṛgus, which is honoured even by the celestials with Indra, Agni and the Maruts" (1. 5. 5). Here the Bhārgava interest is very clear and unmistakable. Accordingly eight chapters (5–12), which form the Paulomaparvan, are *entirely* consecrated to an account of the wonderful deeds of some of the Bhārgavas, an account which is not even remotely connected in actual fact with the incidents or characters of our epic. It is a digression pure and simple, introduced with the very obvious object of glorifying the Bhārgavas and giving a permanent form to some of the Bhārgava myths and legends. These chapters are a short history of one special branch of the Bhārgava clan, represented by: Bhṛgu, Cyavana, Pramati, Ruru and Śunaka. The significance of this branch and its connection with our version of the Mahābhārata will become apparent presently.

Bhṛgu, a sage of almost mythical character, the eponymous ancestor of the family, is here said to have been created from Brahmā from the sacrificial fire during Varuṇa's sacrifice (216*):

Bhṛgur maharṣir bhagavān Brahmaṇā vai svayaṁbhuvā |
Varuṇasya kratau jātaḥ pāvakād iti naḥ śrutam ||

This interpolated stanza (found only in N) contradicts the statement in the main body of the text (documented jointly by N and S) to the effect that Bhṛgu was born by piercing the heart of Brahmā (1. 60 40):

Brahmaṇo hṛdayaṁ bhittvā niḥsṛto bhagavān Bhṛguḥ ।

While Bhṛgu's wife Pulomā was pregnant, the story continues (adhy. 5–6), there came to Bhṛgu's hermitage, during his absence, a demon (*rākṣasa*) Puloman, who became enamoured of her and wanted to carry her off. To make sure of his facts, however, the demon asked Agni whether she was really Bhṛgu's wife. The fact was that this Pulomā was first betrothed to Puloman and afterwards given by her father to Bhṛgu, and Puloman wanted to have his Pulomā back. On getting from Agni an answer in the affirmative, the demon, assuming the form of a boar, carried her off. On the way Cyavana is born. His lustre instantly reduces to ashes the demonic ravisher of his mother and saves her from a very awkward predicament. Pulomā returns home safely with the baby. Bhṛgu only learns of this incident after his return to the hermitage. Incensed at the outrage, he curses god Agni, whom he regards as the prime cause of the disaster, saying that Agni would be an eater of all things, good and bad (*sarva-bhakṣa*).

There follows in adhy. 8 the story of Ruru, son of Pramati. Menakā an *apsaras*, abandons her beautiful daughter near the hermitage of the sage Sthūlakeśa. She is called Pramadvarā. Pramati arranges her marriage with his son Ruru, who has fallen in love with her. Shortly before the celebration of their marriage Pramadvarā is bitten by a venemous snake and dies, leaving Ruru disconsolate. By the miraculous powers of his austere penance, this Bhārgava gives up half of his life to Pramadvarā and revives her, and ultimately marries her. Ruru takes a vow to destroy all the snakes in the world, like Janamejaya before him, whose father Parikṣit had died as the result of a snake-bite. One day Ruru comes across a harmless old snake of the variety known as *duṇḍubha* (adhy. 9). The snake begs to be spared and so Ruru does not kill it. The serpent body only concealed the metamorphosed soul of a sage, who was suffering the effects of a curse pronounced on him in a previous birth (adhy. 10). The

sage declares *ahiṁsā* to be the highest duty of a Brahmin. Janamejaya had once tried to destroy the race of snakes by performing a snake sacrifice; they were saved by the Brahmin Āstīka (adhy. 11). Ruru subsequently hears the story of Janamejaya's snake sacrifice from his father Pramati (adhy. 12). This story of the snake sacrifice as told by Pramati to his son Ruru was repeated verbatim by the Sūta to Śaunaka and forms in our version of the Mahābhārata the Āstīkaparvan, the fifth sub-section of the Ādi (adhy. 13–53).

It will be noticed that from adhy. 4 to adhy. 12 of the Ādi, a section which, as already mentioned, is entirely concerned with the history of a branch of the Bhārgava clan, there is no mention of the Mahābhārata at all. Nor is there, as a matter of fact, any mention of the epic in the immediate sequel up to adhy. 53 of the Ādi! Only in adhy. 53, after having heard first the Bhārgava legends and then the story of the snake sacrifice (which had been previously related by the Bhārgava Pramati to his son Ruru), Śaunaka at last expresses the desire to hear the Mahābhārata of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, which was narrated to king Janamejaya by Vaiśaṁpāyana in the intervals of that snake sacrifice (1. 53. 32 f.):

Mahābhāratam ākyhānaṁ Pāṇḍavānāṁ yaśaskaram ।
Janamejayena yat pṛṣṭaḥ Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyanas tadā ॥
śrāvayāmāsa vidhivat tadā karmāntareṣu saḥ ।
tāṁ ahaṁ vidhivat puṇyāṁ śrotum icchāmi vai kathām ॥

This completes our survey of the Bhārgava material in the Mahābhārata.[1] But even this analysis does not give an adequate idea of the total number of Bhārgava references in the Great

[1] The following sages should probably further be included among the Bhṛgus: (1) *Ārṣṭiṣeṇa*, a sage, mentioned several times in the Āraṇyaka; a legend is told about him in the Baladeva-tīrthayātrā (Śalyaparvan); (2) *Gṛtsamada*, mentioned briefly in the Anuśāsana; (3) *Veda*, who was the teacher of Uttaṅka and chaplain of Janamejaya and Pausya; (4) *Paila*, one of the pupils of Vyāsa; and (5) *Māṇḍavya*, who curses Dharma in the celebrated story (*upākhyāna*) of Aṇīmāṇḍavya in the Ādi. The part they play in our epic is small, and therefore they have been iguored in this paper. Moreover, none of them, except Gṛtsamada, is actually called a Bhārgava in our epic. Śrī-Kṛṣṇa himself was distantly connected with the Bhārgavas, being a descendant of Yadu, the son of Yayāti by the Bhārgavī Devayānī.

Epic. The Bhārgavas regularly occur as static figures, along with other ancient sages, in the descriptions of martial combats, festive gatherings, state functions, council meetings and all important assemblies. Outstanding incidents of their history are frequently alluded to, briefly, even in the course of other narratives. The names of their heroes are habitually introduced in similes and metaphors : they are the standards of comparison (*upamāna*), to which everybody else is compared, especially the epic heroes. Thus a man is praised by saying that his intelligence is like that of Śukra. A warrior is eulogized by saying that in heroism he was the equal of the Bhārgava Rāma. Bhīṣma is once praised by saying that he could not be defeated even by Rāma. In other places the valour and effulgence of Cyavana and Aurva are utilized for the sake of a passing comparison. The devotion of Sukanyā to her husband Cyavana has been made proverbial by constant citation. These details could not be considered in the present paper for want of space.[1]

RETROSPECT

From the legends preserved in our epic it should seem that the Bhārgavas were a Brahmin clan, perhaps more intimately associated with the ancient Kṣatriyas than most of the other Brahmin clans, being largely connected with them by matrimonial ties. Thus Cyavana is said to have married Sukanyā, the daughter of king Śaryāti. Ṛcīka had married Satyavatī, the daughter of king Gādhi of Kanyakubja and sister of the famous Viśvāmitra. Jamadagni's wife Reṇukā is likewise said to have been a princess by birth, being a daughter of king Prasenajit of Ayodhyā. The Bhārgavī Devayānī was moreover married to king Yayāti : the only *pratiloma* marriage on record in Brahmanical literature. King Vītahavya had been adopted and made a Brahmin by a Bhṛgu, and his descendants became Bhārgavas. On the other hand some of the ancient Bhārgavas seem to have come seriously into conflict with the Kṣatriyas. The relations of Rāma Jāmadagnya with the Kṣatriyas are so well known and have been repeated above so often that it is

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1 Even these may be considered later, if a suitable opportunity presents itself.

unnecessary to dilate upon them here. But even in the case of Aurva and Jamadagni, the epic has to relate conflicts with the Kṣatriyas, which have been alluded to above.

In these conflicts the Bhārgavas are represented in our epic as irascible sages, domineering, arrogant, unbending and revengeful. To our epic bards they are at the same time omniscient and omnipotent Supermen, who had become so chiefly by virtue of their rigid austerities and the magical or spiritual' powers acquired by them. Owing to these occult powers, the Bhārgavas were like gods walking on earth, or rather greater than mere gods. Thus Bhṛgu pronounces a curse on Agni—a god fervently lauded and worshipped by the simple Aryans—for no fault of his. He also cursed (according to one version) Nahuṣa, who had been elected king of gods and who had become arrogant and irreligious owing to this sudden elevation to power. The wizard Cyavana paralyzed the arm of the recalcitrant Indra, a high god of the Vedic Aryans. Jamadagni would shoot down the Sun, another Aryan god. The Bhārgava Uttaṅka, when about to curse Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, the supreme god of the Bhāgavatas or Vaiṣṇavas, was gently pacified by the *avatāra*. The kings of the earth are of course like vermin before these Bhārgavas. The mighty Haihayas tremble before the infant Aurva, who blinds them by his effulgence, and they have to beg for mercy on their bended knees. King Kuśika grovels at the feet of Cyavana and meekly submits to all varieties of indignities for fear that the great sage might curse him.

Bhṛgu, the eponymous ancestor of the Bhārgavas, was one of the *prajāpatis*. While the other *prajāpatis* like Dakṣa are said to have issued from different limbs of Brahmā, Bhṛgu is represented as having sprung from Brahmā's heart, the noblest of the internal organs of man or god. In another context in our epic, it is implied that Bhṛgu was the greatest of the *maharṣis*, though his name is not included even in the list of the famous Seven Sages.

But the Bhārgava most popular with our bards is surely Rāma Jāmadagnya. The bards love to dwell on his martial exploits, repeating them whenever the slightest opprtunity for it presents itself. The shadow of this colossus overspreads the entire epic, excepting the short tail at the end of the poem. In our epic he is not yet a full-fledged *avatāra*, but on the high way to be ele-

vated to that rank, surreptitious efforts being made to make the epic document his divinity. He conquers the whole world, alone and unaided; such is the prowess of his fierce austerities. He frees the earth of the burden of Kṣatriyas thrice seven times and makes the gift of the earth to Kaśyapa, his priest, who divides it among Brahmins. Rāma fights even the enemies of the gods, with the same assurance and success, enemies whom the gods themselves could not subdue. As the Bhārgava Rāma is the perfect warrior (*sarvaśastrabhṛtām varaḥ*, a phrase the bards love to apply to him), three of the leading warriors of the Kaurava army—Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karṇa—are said to have been initiated into the science of arms by Rāma Jāmadagnya, though the latter according to the epic itself, lived at the end of the Tretā Age and the Kuru-Pāṇḍava war took place at the end of the Dvāpara.

The epic contains a number of episodes (*upākhyānas*) relating to the Bhārgavas, such as, the Aurvopākhyāna (Ādi), Kārtavīryopākhyāna (Āraṇyaka), Ambopākhyāna (Udyoga), Vipulopākhyāna (Śānti), and Uttaṅkopākhyāna (Aśvamedha), and so on. The entire Pauloma and a large section of the Pauṣya, *two independent sub-parvans of the epic*, are also devoted to the legends of the Bhārgavas. Besides these there are important discussions and discourses attributed to some of the celebrated Bhārgavas, such as the Bhṛgu-Bhāradvāja-saṁvāda, the Cyavana-Kuśika-saṁvāda and the Mārkaṇḍeya-samāsyā.

Another striking feature of these Bhārgava legends in our Mahābhārata is the frequent repetition of these legends on different occasions in the course of the epic. Thus the legend of Uttaṅka, the myth of the altercation between Cyavana and Indra, the story of Droṇa's obtaining weapons from the Bhārgava Rāma, and the account of Karṇa's pupilship under him, is each told *twice*, in different contexts. The legend of the birth of Jamadagni and Rāma is related in all *four* times. That the Bhārgava Rāma exterminated the Kṣatriyas thrice seven times is mentioned *ten* times, in nearly identical form (*triḥsaptakṛtvaḥ pṛthivī kṛtā niḥkṣatriyā purā*, which appears to have been a slogan of the bards); but the humiliation of the pride of the Kṣatriyas by the Bhārgava Rāma is mentioned about a *score* of times.

It is to be noted that the Bhārgavas spring into this promi-

nence all of a sudden in the Mahâbhârata. We look in vain for any reflection of their phenomenal power and glory in the Vedic literature.[1] There the Bhārgavas are frequently alluded to as devoted to the fire-cult and they appear in the rôle of a group of ancient fire priests. They are said to have procured fire for mankind. In the Battle of Ten Kings, the Bhārgavas are mentioned with the Druhyus. In many passages they are associated with the Aṅgirases. The Atharvaveda is also known as Bhṛgvaṅgiras, and it seems certain that both the Bhṛgus and the Aṅgirases dabbled a great deal in the black art and were feared on that account. That they probably came into conflict with other clans and especially perhaps the Kṣatriyas is indicated by the fact that in the last-named Veda the name of Bhṛgu is chosen to exemplify the dangers incurred by those who oppress Brahmins. The Sṛñjaya Vaitahavyas succumb as the result of an attack on Bhṛgu. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa shows Bhṛgu in a similar light.

Thus we see that the Vedic references give no ground for explaining the eminence of the ancient Bhārgavas implied by the epic account. These references supply nevertheless rudimentary clues of ideas and sentiments which were probably magnified in the imagination of the remote descendants of a powerful ancient clan, influenced strongly by the cult of ancestor worship. Thus, for example, the close connection of the Bhṛgus with the fire cult may perhaps serve to explain the part that Agni plays in many of the Bhārgava legends in the Mahābhārata. The Cyavana-Aśvins legend of the epic finds some support in the statement of the Ṛgveda to the effect that the Aśvins rejuvenated Cyavana, making him "acceptable to his wife and a husband of maidens." The Brāhmaṇas amplify this account. The connection of the Bhṛgus with the Atharvaveda explains the element of witchcraft in the Bhārgava legends of our epic, such as, for example, the revival of the dead by the Bhārgava Śukra, or the paralyzing of the arm of Indra by Cyavana and of the creation of the monster called Mada, mentioned above. That the Bhṛgus had in some way championed the cause of Brahmins against other clans is, as

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[1] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. 2, p. 109.

already mentioned, supported by a reference in the Atharvaveda. Their intimate association with the Aṅgirases implied in the Vedic literature is reflected faithfully in many of the stories and genealogies of our epic.

Taking a collective view of these Bhārgava references in the Great Epic, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Bhārgava heroes occupy a surprisingly large portion of the canvas—which is said to depict the Bhārata War—filling up as they do much of the available space of the background. And it is more than probable that if the epic is examined yet more minutely, still further evidence of Bhārgava material, hitherto undiscovered, will be brought to light. The figures of the Bhārgavas have also been magnified to colossal proportions, painted with a thick brush and in vivid colours. Their myths and legends are uniformly distributed over the entire extent of the Great Epic with the exception of some short and unimportant *parvans* (10 and 15-18) at the end (comprising in all not more than 2500 stanzas, a negligible fraction of the epic), books on which the average reader of the poem bestows but scant attention. In short, the Bhārgavas are represented in our epic throughout as *the* people. How does that come about ? — " *Cui bono ?* ", as the Roman lawyer would have asked.

To imagine that all this fulsome eulogy liberally showered upon the heroes of the Bhārgavas, and the interminable repetition of their stories and legends are entirely unconscious—at least unintentional—and without any ulterior motive, being just ordinary features of epic treatment, would be indeed naïve. In the first place, we have very clear and definite evidence of the fact that our epic has been consciously and deliberately expanded at least in *one* instance : the surreptitious addition of a bunch of Bhārgava legends to the Kuru-Pāṇḍava epic in the shape of the so-called Paulomaparvan in the Ādi, which is *entirely* made up of Bhārgava legends and has not even the *remotest* intrinsic connection with the story of the epic. Then we have equally clear and definite evidence of the tendentious " bhṛguization " of older legends, which occur in the epic itself in *two* forms, one with and the other without some important Bhārgava element, to wit, the Stories of Sixteen Kings (Ṣoḍaśarājakīya) and the Nahuṣa-

Agastya legend. We have also noticed that our Mahābhārata contains two variant openings, one of which is clearly inspired by a Bhārgava,[1] both fortunately preserved by the conservative instinct of the redactors, helped by a process of conflation peculiar to the Mahābhārata, which tolerates a close juxtaposition of discrepant versions. We have further indirect testimony of the effort made to connect some Bhārgava or other with the propagation of the epic. We are thus told that it was the Bhārgava Uttaṅka who instigated Janamejaya to undertake the snake sacrifice at which the Mahābhārata was first publicly recited. Our Āstīka is that tale which was narrated to the Bhārgava Ruru by his father Pramati. And last but not least, we must take account of the very important fact that the Kulapati Śaunaka himself, before whom the Mahābhārata is said to have been recited by the Sūta Ugraśravas, was also a Bhārgava ! So when Śaunaka says that he wants to hear the history of the Bhārgavas before anything else (1. 5. 3):

tatra vaṁśam ahaṁ pūrvaṁ śrotum icchāmi Bhārgavam ।,

the reason for this peculiar predilection of the host of the Sūta is very evident.

But it might be contended that we are unnecessarily emphasizing the Bhārgava element; that the Mahābhārata was or has come to be an encyclopaedia of Brahmanic tradition and it therefore contains also all the Bhārgava legends—in a slightly exaggerated form perhaps. The epic itself says (1. 56. 33):

yad ihāsti tad anyatra yan nehāsti na tat kvacit ।

That is undoubtedly true, to a certain extent. One can, however, easily convince oneself that the diaskeuasts who boldly conceived the colossal idea of converting the popular Epic of the Bhāratas into the *Encyclopaedia Brahmanica*, though generally catholic in their selection of Brahmanic legends and doctrines, and eclectic as regards their religious and philosophical outlook, yet they

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1 This was noticed by Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata*, vol. 2 (1893), p. 12. " Es liegt hier die Einleitung des *Mahābhārata* der *Bhārgava* vor, gerade wie im Gesetzbuche des *Manu* die Fassung der *Bhārgava* sich eingedrangt hat". He did not follow, however, this fruitful idea any further, being misled by the immediate sequel. " Unser *Mahābhārata*, " he remarks, " kehrt aber sofort wieder zur anderen Fassung zurück. Im Folgenden erzählt nicht *Pramati* den *Ruru*, sondern, wie früher, *Ugraśravas* dem *Śaunaka* ".

were probably not entirely without their preferences and prejudices, and that they do not apportion anything like the same amount of space and breadth of treatment to the myths and legends of other Brahmanic families such as the Āgastyas, Ātreyas, Kāṇvas, Kāśyapas, Gautamas, Vāsiṣṭhas, and so on. The legends of these other families or clans are by no means entirely ignored in our Mahābhārata, but they are comparatively few in number and hardly ever repeated. They appear like negligible details on the vast canvas of the epic and are easily lost sight of in this colossal accumulation of apparently most heterogeneous elements, which are all the same carefully balanced so as to produce a more or less homogeneous impression. Very differently treated are the Bhārgava legends in our Mahābhārata. To make any impression by the side of the titanic figures of the old epic like Bhīṣma and Karṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, the Bhārgavas had to be magnified a great deal and their legends, which were probably not so well known then as now, had to be repeated. And we accordingly find that the legends have been repeated, so often that the redactors themselves must have in time come to believe in them; and the figures have been magnified, so liberally that they appear almost to eclipse the heroes of the Great Epic itself.

Just for the sake of contrast, we might compare the other great epic of India, the Rāmāyaṇa, for Bhārgava references. That epic also is a Brahmanic epic, containing a host of Brahmanic legends and stories. The result of his quest for Bhārgava references will astonish the reader. The references are remarkably few and extremely meagre. About our Bhṛgu, a *vibhūti* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, the only thing recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa is that his wife was decapitated by Viṣṇu! Cyavana has been introduced in Vālmīki's epic, only to narrate some stories. The solitary reference to our Rāma Jāmadagnya (*sarvaśastrabhṛtāṁ varaḥ*) has been noticed above; it is the one in which he challenges Rāma Dāśarathi and is worsted in the encounter! We learn nothing more about Jamadagni from the Rāmāyaṇa than the bald fact that he was slain by Arjuna Kārtavīrya. Aurva, who as an infant had blinded the Haihayas by his effulgence, is not mentioned at all, so far as I know. Comment is superfluous.

Now there can be no question that all this Bhārgava material in our present Mahābhārata is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bhāratas, occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. There should be, therefore, in my opinion no hesitation in concluding that *in our version of the Mahābhārata there is a conscious—nay deliberate—weaving together or rather stitching together of the Bhārata legends with the Bhārgava stories.*

The question how precisely this Bhārgava element, which we find concentrated mostly in the *upākhyānas*, came into the cycle of the Bhārata legends is intriguing, but unfortunately the answer is largely a matter of speculation. Even according to the traditional view, it was *not* the work of Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata, because the diaskeuasts have been fortunately frank enough to admit that *his* work, the Bhārata, which originally consisted merely of 24,000 stanzas, had no episodes to speak of (1. 1. 61) :

caturviṁśatisāhasrīṁ cakre Bhāratasaṁhitām ।
upākhyānair vinā tāvad Bhārataṁ procyate budhaiḥ ॥

It could again hardly have been the work of Vaiśaṁpāyana, the direct pupil of Vyāsa, according to tradition, who is said to have recited the Bhārata of Vyāsa, in the presence of Vyāsa himself, as he had been taught by his *guru*, during the intervals of the short snake sacrifice celebrated by king Janamejaya.

The case was different with the next recorded recitation of the Mahābhārata : it was by the Sūta Ugraśravas in the presence of the Bhārgava Śaunaka during the twelve-year sacrifice instituted by the latter. Even before the recitation commences, Śaunaka explicitly asks the Sūta, who had come there to recite his Mahābhārata, to narrate first of all the history of the Bhārgavas and, as directed by his host, the Sūta obediently does so. There is a very clear shifting of the centre of gravity. Here we have a different milieu and a different interest. The scene changes from the bustling and scintillating pageantry of the Kaurava Court to the reflective calm and leisure of the sylvan retreat of the Bhṛgus.

Few scholars, I imagine, would now be inclined to deny that our epic text has undergone momentous alterations in the course

of its long and eventful history. It is now generally recognized that the Bhārata, like the popular lays, ballads and early epics of all countries and all people, has always been a *fluid* text, adjusted to the varying needs of the occasion and the differing tastes of the audience. No disparagement or condemnation of the text is thereby implied. The process is quite normal, inevitable and in a wider sense wholly right. To continue to be a vital force in the life of a progressive people, the epic must be a slow-changing book. The fact of expurgation and elaboration is only an outward indication of its being a book of inspiration and guidance in life, and not merely a book lying unused and forgotten on a dusty book-shelf. And this is no drawback in the case of our text. Therein lies on the contrary its capital interest and importance for us. It is a rapid-motion picture reel of many ages of Indian culture—not necessarily factitive history—arranged in a naïve fashion, something like the sculptured panels on the gateways and the railings of the Buddhist Stūpa at Sanchi or the mural frescoes of Ajanta—with scenes telescoped all in one plane, without much regard to perspective or perhaps with its own peculiar technique of perspective.

As already remarked, it seems probable that in the formative period of the epic a powerful Bhārgava influence—direct or indirect—has been at work, so to say behind the scenes, in shaping our epic for us. This element had obviously obtruded itself upon the original nucleus, certainly after the time of the original author Vyāsa and probably after that of Vaiśampāyana. The next traditional link, however, in the transmission of the epic is the Sūta. Is the Sūta then responsible for the conversion of the Bhārata into the Mahābhārata ? Now I do not doubt that some of the Sūtas probably were gifted versifiers, able to compose *ex tempore* short bardic poems and to improvise lays to suit them to the varying tastes and requirements of the audience. But if we consider these Sūtas capable of composing on the spur of the moment such masses of narrative episodes and didactic discourses as we find in our Mahābhārata, we shall be crediting these minstrels with an accomplishment far beyond their natural capacity. Nobody is, however, so credulous nowadays as to imagine the Sūta as the author of those extensive innovations that must

have been necessary in order to convert a heroic poem of about 24,000 stanzas (taking the traditional figure as a rough guide for our speculations) into an encyclopaedia of the present dimensions.

We are not in any case, as far as I can see, constrained to accept every single statement of the epic in its *exact* literal sense. And when I say that, I mean no disparagement either of the text; far from it. Our epic does not pretend to be a dry, prosaic, matter-of-fact chronicle, nor a statistical history in the modern sense, based upon a laboriously compiled critical apparatus. If it were that, it would surely not have lived for 2500 years. We have on the shelves of our libraries hundreds of ponderous tomes and compendiums of national and world history, prepared along approved lines by laborious professors of history. But hardly anybody reads these works twice, and they are mostly forgotten, in a generation or two, by an ununderstanding and ungrateful posterity. The Mahābhārata never was a scientific chronicle of that type and it would be egregious folly to regard it as such. It is above all an inspired poem. It was actually regarded by later generations as a *kāvya*:

kṛtam mayedaṁ bhagavan kāvyaṁ paramapūjitam ।,

the highest type of Indian *poetry*, like its sister epic, the Rāmāyaṇa. It was before everything else a work of art, creative art, idealistic in conception, informed with deep religious feeling, permeated by a conscious didactic purpose, focussed more on ideas and ideals than on facts and figures, in which people were not interested then so much as now: a work in which a moral was conveyed by a parable, an elusive truth by a tangible facile myth. And to the inspired creators of a traditional book of that type we must at least allow poetic licence and common imagination.

The entire story that the Sūta had heard the epic at its first recitation by Vaiśaṁpāyana and reproduced it *verbatim* at Śaunaka's bidding, having committed it to memory after a single hearing, is so obviously unnatural and improbable that it seems clearly more appropriate to regard it merely as a poetic fiction, a "frame-story", the most popular of Indian devices of literary composition. But there is no symbolism without a basis, however difficult it may

be for us to reach the elusive subconscious or unconscious. To my mind, the frame-story of our Mahābhārata is directly an unconscious admission of the fact that the Bhārata had at a critical stage of its evolution passed into the sphere of influence of the Bhṛgus, through the medium of the wandering minstrel. The Bhārgava influence is implied in the person of the Kulapati Śaunaka. The Sūta, who used to recite the poem in the Heroic Age, is kept on, with due regard to traditional usage, to give the new recension a setting appropriate to it and indicating the source at the same time.

The influence of the Bhārgavas in the narrative portion of the Great Epic is very evident and can hardly be disputed. But their influence in an entirely different sphere, though less tangible and therefore more difficult to demonstrate, is to my mind nevertheless probable: I mean the incorporation into the epic of large masses of didactic material, concentrated chiefly in the Śānti and Anuśāsana, especially so far as it concerns the Dharma and Nīti elements. Though the philosophy of the Mahābhārata is often times rather shaky, being in places abstruse and confused, and though the religious beliefs which find expression there are perplexingly eclectic, oscillating between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, between Henotheism and Pantheism, there can be no two opinions about the fact that the Mahābhārata offers a very sound and complete exposition of Dharma and Nīti according to Indian theorists, a feature which has given this venerable old monument of Indian antiquity its rank as Smṛti and its abiding value and interest to the Hindus, nay to all true childern of Mother India.

Now it happens that Dharma and Nīti are just the two topics in which the Bhṛgus had *specialized* and with which their names are prominently associated. The connection of the Bhārgava Śukra with Nīti, which is proverbial in the Mahābhārata, is so patent that it does not need to be especially pointed out. The connection of the Bhṛgus with the Dharmaśāstra is perhaps not so well known, but is nevertheless equally certain. One has only to recall that, according to a tradition preserved in the work itself, our Manusmṛti, the most famous and popular of ancient Indian works bearing on the Dharmaśāstra, is the ancient Code

of Manu in the form in which it was communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu and is therefore even commonly known as the Bhṛgu-saṁhitā, an explanation which I see not the slightest reason to question or doubt. It is also recognized that there is intimate connection between the Mahābharata and the Manusmṛti. The Manusmṛti, it may be pointed out, has an introduction not unlike in conception to the first chapter of our epic : a few stanzas agree to some extent even in their wording. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in our Mahābhārata (*ity evaṁ Manur abravīt*). According to Bühler's computation, there are about 260 stanzas of the Manusmṛti, that is nearly 10 per cent of the total, which are again found *verbatim* (or with only slight variations) in *parvans* 3, 12 and 16 alone of the Great Epic. Then on the side of the Mahābhārata, Dharma is the foundation on which the whole stately edifice of the Great Epic has been reared, and to a great extent also the material of which it is composed. Our Mahābhārata is itself a *dharma-grantha*. The hero of the epic is Dharma-rāja, himself a son of Dharma; he is Dharma incarnate. The Bhārata war was a *dharma-yuddha* : *yato dharmas tato jayaḥ*. The field of battle was a *dharma-kṣetra*. Nārāyaṇa incarnated himself as Śrī-Kṛṣṇa to restore the fallen Dharma. The essence of the book (*Bhārata-sāvitrī*), embodying the moral of the story, is given as (B. 18. 5. 62 f.):

ūrdhvabāhur viraumy eṣa na ca kaścic chṛṇoti me ı
dharmād arthaś ca kāmaś ca sa kimarthaṁ na sevyate ıı
na jatu kāmān na bhayān na lobhād
dharmaṁ tyajej jīvitasyāpi hetoḥ ı
nityo dharmaḥ sukhaduḥkhe tv anitye
jīvo nityo hetur asya tv anityaḥ ıı

The infiltration of masses of Bhārgava material in the shape of Bhārgava myths and legends, the manner of its treatment, and even that strange admixture of the Epic with the Dharma and Nīti elements, which latter especially has so long puzzled many inquirers into the genesis of the Mahābhārata, thus appear to find a simple and straightforward explanation in the assumption of an *important unitary diaskeuasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence.* But this does not at all

imply that the text has remained untouched after this first diaskeuasis; far from it. Like all traditional works, it was a slow-changing book: and additions and alterations, as already remarked, must have been made in it continuously throughout its long history of about 2500 years.

These further additions were in the main probably made in the first instance by the Bhārgavas themselves in the centuries that immediately followed the first important diaskeuasis under Bhārgava supervision, since it is most likely that just as the different collections of Vedic hymns, the various Brāhmaṇas and the ritualistic manuals were all, for some time, the closely guarded property of diverse Vedic schools and families of sages, which had respectively cultivated and developed them, so also our remodelled Bhārata, now elevated to the rank of the Fifth Veda, must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. That would, in my opinion, account for the apparent homogeneous character of this heterogeneous mass: it all came from different hands, but out of the same mould.

If the above considerations have any validity, they might help us to lift up a corner of the thick veil enveloping our Great Epic and allow us to have a covert peep into its history. Such a peep would show that there existed in India, in very ancient times an epic poem of about 24,000 stanzas, attributed to Vyāsa (the "Expander"), which described in great detail the Bhārata War and sang the glory of the Pāṇḍavas. This heroic poem, the Bhārata, which used to be recited by the Sūtas mostly at royal courts and had in course of time become very popular, was at a critical stage of its history appropriated by the Bhṛgus (who had certainly specialized in the Dharma- and Nītiśāstra and probably also developed leanings towards Viṣṇuism), with the idea of developing the epic into a vehicle of popular instruction and edification combined with entertainment. These anchorites, full of age-old wisdom and wonderful masters of the art of myth-weaving, took from the Sūtas the Bhārata and gave back to the world the Mahābhārata, the same book yet different. In the process of the redaction by the Bhṛgus, the work, naturally and to an extent unconsciously, received that characteristic and indelible stamp

which was predetermined by the eventful history, the natural proclivities, the special endowments, and the peculiar "Weltanschauung" of the Bhṛgus. This little episode in its history necessarily gave our poem the anomalous character of an Epos and "Rechtsbuch" combined. It may be surmised that this remodelled Bhārata remained for some considerable time in the hands of the Bhārgavas, who had developed it and so to say re-created it, as their exclusive literary property, and they exploited it thereafter and propagated it in their own way. The colossal success of this Bhārgava recension of the ancient Epic of the Bhāratas, a success which in one sense was richly deserved, was the indirect cause of the neglect and subsequent disappearance of the original heroic poem, which must have still existed at the time of the composition of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra. Like other branches of the hieratic literature, when the epic at last passed out of the hands of the Bhṛgus and became the common property of the literati of India, it still remained a fluid text, not entirely closed to minor alteration and expansion, but retained its character as a traditional work, revered and cherished by the people as the work of Maharṣi Vyāsa and serving still as a vehicle of popular education, inspiration and edification as intended by the Bhṛgus. The further we pursue the study of the traces of Bhārgava influence on the Epic of the Bhāratas, the clearer, it seems to me, will become the history of our Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of Bhāratavarṣa.

AN ANALYSIS OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED IN THE ŚĀRṄGADHARAPADDHATI

BY

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It was in 1888 that Prof. P. Peterson edited the Śārṅgadharapaddhati in the Bombay Sanskrit Series No. 37 and remarked in the 'Prefatory Note to the Text':

'A full critical apparatus, with notes to the book, and an Introductory Sketch of the Literature embraced in it, will appear in a second volume, which I hope to put out next year.'

But the promised volume never appeared. Today we do not even know as to what authors or works are quoted in the Śp (= Śārṅgadharapaddhati). If we want to refer to any author we must go through the whole book and then only find the information desired for. And now, Śp. has even gone out of print. Hence, in order to facilitate the work of scholars, it is proposed to give the names of authors and works quoted in Śp. together with the numbers of the verses ascribed to them in Peterson's edition. Information about these authors and works and cross references to other anthologies, poetical works, etc., I reserve for some future occasion. I have only indicated under the name of each poet (in Italics) if he is quoted in Saduktikarṇāmṛta (= Skm.), Kavīndravacanasamuccaya (= Kvs.), Subhāṣitāvali (= Sbhv.) and Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali (= Sml.) as described by R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report*, 1887–91, pp. i–liv.

The brackets enclose the total number of verses ascribed to a work or author.

1 अकालजलद् (1)–777

2 अचल *Skm.* ; *Kvs.*; *Sml.* (3)-784, 3564, 3803.

3 अच्युत *Kvs.* (2)-1108, 1185.

4 अद्भुतपुण्य (2)-3528, 3680.

5 अनन्तदेव (1)–150.

6 आभिनन्द (2) *Skm.* ; *Kvs.*; *Sml.* 3763, 3917.

7 (गौड) अभिनन्द *See* अभिनन्द *above* (2)–1090, 3485.

8 अभिनवगुप्त (1)–1152.

9 अभिरामपशुपति (1) 533.

10 अमरुक *Skm.* ; *Kvs.*; *Sml. Sbhv.* (28)-3386, 3388, 3395, 3416, 3424, 3465-67, 3486, 3535, 3544-46, 3551, 3558, 3575, 3668, 3673, 3682-83, 3702, 3706-7, 3715, 3740-41, 3747, 3847.
11 अमृतवर्धन *Sbhv.* (1)-3935.
12 अरसीठक्कुर (1)-76.
13 अगट *Sbhv.* (1)-3613.
14 अवन्तिवर्मन् *Skm. Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (2) 3604, 3835.
15 आकाशपोलि (2) 3428, 3515.
16 आनन्ददत्त (1)-506.
17 आनन्दवर्धन *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (3) 898, 906. 920.
18 आसीनगरप्राकारप्रशस्ति (1)-89.
19 इन्दुराज (1)-1052.
20 (भट्ट) इन्दुराज *Sbhv.* इन्दुभट्ट (2)-1212, 3580.
21 इन्द्रकवि (5)-84, 948, 1082, 1130, 4078.
22 इन्द्रसिंह *Sbhv.* (1)-3968.
23 उड्डीयकाव (1) 3663.
24 उत्कट (1) 576
25 उत्पलराज *Skm.* ; *Kvs.* (1)-1017.
26 उत्प्रेक्षावल्लभ (2)-3523-24.
27 उमापतिधर *Skm.* ; *Sml.* (2)-755, 3490.
28 कपिलरुद्र *Sbhv.* (1) 3787.
29 कपोलकवि (1) 3315.
30 कमल युध *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (1)-3922.
31 कर्पूरकवि (1)-1027.
32 कर्णोत्पल *Skm.* (1) 3674.
33 कलश *Sbhv.* (1)-3845.
34 कावरत्न *Skm.* (1)-1119.
35 कवाश्वर (1)-3975.
36 कालिदास *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sbhv. Sml.* (26)-414, 544, 760, 3268, 3271, 3289, 3296, 3317-18, 3329, 3376-78, 3410, 3503, 3566, 3644, 3676, 3744, 3795, 3927, 3977-78, 3998, 4069, 4082.
37 कुमारदास *Skm.* ; *Kvs.* ; *Sbhv. Sml.*; (4)-3344, 3356, 3554, 3897.
38 कुमारभट्ट *Sbhv.* (1)-3691.
39 कुमुद (1)-119.
40 कृष्ण *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (1)-1135.
41 कृष्णापिल्ल (2)-3809, 3882.
42 कृष्णभट्ट (1)-175.
43 कृष्णमिश्र *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (5)-106, 455, 878, 3081, 4067.
44 काक *Skm.* (19)-3142-43, 3219-35.
45 क्रीडाचन्द्र (1)-96.
46 क्षेमेन्द्र *Sbhv.* (61) 195, 206-7, 286, 335, 378-79, 428-32, 590, 1504-27, 3076, 3078, 3474, 3623, 3647, 3765, 3832, 3853, 3987, 4029-30, 4035-37, 4041, 4046-53, 4137.
47 खड्गकोश (10)-4634-43.
48 गणदेव (1)-818.
49 गण्डगोपाल (1)-3906.
50 गन्धदीपिका (1)-3259.
51 गलज्जलवासुदेव (1)-3389.
52 गाङ्गदेव (1) 982.
53 गुणाकर *Skm.* गुणाकरभद्र (9)-1570-76, 3913-14.
54 गोपादित्य *Sbhv.* (1)-3662.
55 गोपालदेव (1)-4099.
56 गोभट्ट *Skm.* गोभट (2)-239, 382.
57 गोवर्धन (1)-3400.
58 गोवर्धनाचार्य *Skm.* (1)-466.
59 गोविन्दराज *Sbhv.* (1)-925.
60 (भट्ट) गोविन्दराज *See* गोविन्दराज *above* (1) 1031.
61 गोविन्दराजदेव (4)-87, 571, 3261, 3457.
62 चन्द्र (1)-863.

63 चन्द्रक *Sbhv.*-चन्दक (2)-3565, 3596.

64 चन्द्रकवि (3)-769, 848-49.

65 चन्द्रदेव (2) 177, 871.

66 चाणक्य (6) 140, 334, 354, 413, 418, 452.

67 छमच्छमिकारत्न (1)-3455.

68 छित्रम *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sml.* (1)-98

69 जघनस्थलीघटक (1)-3354.

70 जयगुप्त *Sbhv.* (1)-3909.

71 जयतुङ्गोदय (2)-3275-76.

72 जयदत्त (35)-1674-1708.

73 जयदेव *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (25)-69, 80, 3380, 3431, 3460-61, 3481-82, 3492-3500, 3502, 3520, 3548-50, 3609, 3617, 3658, 3681, 3686-87, 3697, 3704, 3820.

74 जयमाधव *Skm.*; *Sbhv*; *Sml.* (5)-151, 3653, 3801, 3848-49.

75 जयवर्धन *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (1)-896.

76 जीवनाग *Sbhv.* (1)-3890.

77 जीवनायक (1) 951.

78 (भदन्त) ज्ञानवर्मन् (1)-971.

79 त्रिलोचन *Kvs.*; *Sml.* (3)-186-87, 761.

80 त्रिविक्रम *Skm.*-वैद्यत्रिविक्रम (3)-136, 3448, 3459.

81 त्रिविक्रमभट्ट *Sbhv.* (8)-142, 159, 162, 191, 3309, 3530, 3641, 3865.

82 दग्धमरण (1) 3449.

83 दण्डिन् *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sml.* (19)-127, 275, 449, 518, 540, 546, 548, 558, 569-70, 3080, 3366, 3393-94, 3642, 3655, 3997, 4023 4068.

84 दामोदरगुप्त *Sbhv.* (1)-3967.

85 दामोदरदेव *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sbhv.* (4)-1216, 4100, 4109, 4116.

86 दिनकरदेव (1)-3956.

87 दिविरकिशोरक (1) 574.

88 दीपक *Sbhv.* (3)-74, 3751, 4039.

89 दुर्गसेन *Sbhv.* (1)-3889.

90 देवगण (1)-453.

91 देवगणदेव (10)-256, 463, 4123-26, 4158-59, 4169.

92 देवदासदेव (3)-3852, 4101, 4110.

93 देवबोधि *Skm.*-देवबोध; *Sml.* (1)-3521.

94 देवेश्वर (14)-63, 94, 181, 210-12, 217, 240-44, 545, 4004.

95 देवेश्वरपण्डित (3) 1251-53.

96 दोर्लतिकाभीम (1) 3419.

97 धनदेव (13) 88, 158, 163, 182, 697, 819, 841, 874, 1140, 1240, 1277, 3323, 3815.

98 धनपाल *Skm.* *Sml.* (1)-185.

99 धनिक (2) 3417, 3973.

100 धर्मकीर्ति *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.*; (1) 947.

101 धर्मदास (5)-520-21, 523-24, 556.

102 धर्मवर्धन (2)-949, 1002.

103 धाराकदम्ब *Sbhv.* (1) 3829.

104 धैर्यमित्र *Sbhv.* (1)-3450.

105 धोईकवि *Skm.*-धोयीक; *Sml.* (1)-1161.

106 नकुल (34)-1629-53, 1666-73, 4261.

107 नग्नजित *Sbhv.* (1)-3650.

108 नम्मैय (2) 1006, 1051.

109 नरसिंह *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (1) 1154.

110 नागपैय्य (1)-981.

111 नागम्मा (1)-86.

112 नाथकुमार (1)-3880.

113 नारायणभट्ट *Sbhv.* (9)-173, 3972 3981, 4073-74, 4081, 4085-86, 4088.

114 निद्राद‌रिद्र *Sbhv.* (1)-3454.

115 निशानारायण (2)-135, 4009.
116 नृगनृपतिपाषाणयज्ञयूपप्रशस्ति (2)-1255-56.
117 नेत्रत्रिभागब्रह्मयशस्विन (1)-3464.
118 पद्मपुराण (1)-736.
119 पद्मश्री (19)-3134-41, 3144-51, 3260, 3262-3.
120 परिमल *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*-पद्मगुप्त (1)-747.
121 पाणिनि *Skm.*; *Krs.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (2)-3624, 3869.
122 पाण्डवनकुल (1)-1556.
123 पालकाप्य (28)-1563-69, 1577-97.
124 पुण्य *Sbhv.* (1)-3288.
125 पुष्पाकर (2)-589, 910.
126 पुष्पाकरदेव (2)-820, 992.
127 पुष्टिक (1)-3436.
128 पृथ्वीधर *Sbhv.* (1) 3405.
129 प्रकाशवर्ष *Sbhv.* (2)-383, 783.
130 प्रभाकरदेव (1)-3368.
131 प्रह्लादन (4)-748, 765, 1058, 1071.
132 फल्गुहस्तिनी *Sbhv.* (1)-3630.
133 बधिरकवि (2) 1096-97.
134 बल्लालसेन (1) 763.
135 बाणभट्ट *Skm.*; *Krs.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (16)-60, 68, 112, 152, 157, 160, 230, 380, 498, 3300, 3397, 3695, 3851, 3934, 3946, 3965.
136 बालभारत (1)-531,
137 बिल्वमङ्गलश्रीचरण (4)-72-3, 115, 130.
138 बिह्लण *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (47)-144, 161, 167, 193-94, 775, 915, 924, 946,1559, 3278, 3297, 3304, 3306-7, 3334, 3352, 3357, 3659-62, 3411, 3427, 3430, 3438, 3468-70, 3475, 3593, 3726, 3756, 3762, 3792, 3799-3800, 3807, 3854-57, 3859, 3878-79, 3991, 4018.
139 बीजक *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (2) - 972, 3919.
140 बीजाकर (1) 3509.
141 भट्टनायक (1) - 1020.
142 भट्टबीजक *See* बीजक *above* (1) - 3783.
143 भट्टयशस् (1) - 4072.
144 भट्टरुद्र (1) - 3788.
145 भट्टसोमेश्वर (1) 3667.
146 भट्टस्वामिन् (1) - 591.
147 भट्टोपमन्यु (1) - 3587.
148 भदन्तवर्मन् (1) - 3540.
149 भर्चु (1) - 252.
150 भर्तृमेण्ठ *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (1) - 3953.
151 भर्तृस्वामिन् (1) - 3904.
152 भर्तृहरि *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* *Sml.* (62) - 203-4, 208-9, 225, 227, 236, 254-255, 263-264, 302, 308, 332-33, 377, 415-16, 419, 435-38, 465, 679, 797, 873, 907, 1093, 1529-30, 3082, 3693, 3885, 3908, 3954, 4093-96, 4098, 4102-5, 4112-14, 4146-47, 4150-56, 4164-65, 4176-78.
153 भर्तृ *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (1) - 3932.
154 भल्लट *Sbhv.* (11) - 745-46, 792, 846, 881, 899, 950, 1043, 1215, 3404, 3480.
155 भवभूति *Skm.*; *Krs.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (9) - 91, 99, 146, 213, 749, 791, 3453, 3850, 4075.
156 भानुपण्डित (2) - 790, 3685.
157 भारतीकवि (1) - 95.
158 भारवि *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (6) - 3645, 3649 ; 3806, 3841-43.

159 भास *Skm.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (4) – 3292, 3330, 3640, 3906
160 भिक्षानट (3) – 3776–78.
161 भीम *Sbhv.* (3)–3537, 3828, 3895.
162 भीमसिंहपण्डित (2)–1211, 3367.
163 भेरीभाङ्कार (5)–58, 66, 97, 844, 908.
164 भोजदेव, भोजनरेन्द्र or भोजराज *Skm.; Kvs.; Sml.* (13)–809, 842, 993, 1004, 1028, 1147, 1164, 3589, 3827, 3833, 3884, 3933, 4002 (to मुञ्ज)
165 भोजराज चोर (1) 4106.
166 भोहर (1)–3925.
167 मदन (2)–594, 756.
168 मदालसा (1)–671.
169 मनु (1)–3683.
170 मयूर *Skm.; Kvs.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (5)–137–38, 585, 597, 3947.
171 महादेव *Skm.* (3)–740, 980, 1013.
172 महानाटक (6)–108, 3989–90, 3995, 4010, 4080.
173 महामनुष्य *Skm.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (2) 3902, 3938.
174 महीपतिमण्डलीकर (1)–912.
175 माघ *Skm.; Kvs.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (32)–216, 223, 265–67, 287, 347–48, 407, 450, 461–62, 547, 3440, 3525, 3570, 3585, 3652, 3723–25, 3729, 3736–37, 3742, 3796, 3805, 3814, 3993, 4020–22.
176 मातङ्गदिवाकर *Sbhv.* (1)–1227.
177 माधवमागध (1)–1033.
178 मार्कण्डेयपुराण (113)–705–8, 715–30, 4194–95, 4228–32, 4505–46, 4547–63, 4564–90,
179 मार्कण्डेयमुनि (1)–4089.
180 मालवरुद्र (1) 1091.
181 मुक्तापीड *Sbhv.* (1)–945.
182 मुरारि *Skm.; Kvs.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (9)–510, 3279, 3325, 3661, 3992, 3994, 4070, 4083–84.
183 मूर्त (1)–3690.
184 मेघ (1)–512.
185 मेण्ठ *Sbhv.* (1)–3594.
186 मोरिका *Sbhv.* (2)–3403, 3496.
187 यशोवर्मन् *Skm.; Kvs.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (1)–4071.
188 योगरत्नावली (46)–3189–3218, 3236–49, 3255–56.
189 योगरसायन (77)–4181–92, 4271, 4335.
190 (शिवभाषित) योगरसायन (13)–4258–70.
191 रत्नाकर *Skm.; Sbhv.* (4)–1269, 3345, 3584, 3648.
192 रह्लण (2)–913, 988.
193 रविगुप्त *Skm.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (3)–237, 351, 384.
194 रविदत्त *Sbhv.* (1)–580.
195 राघवचैतन्य (6)–70–71, 168, 877, 1557–58.
196 राघवदेव (1)–4108.
197 राजपितामहमहादेव (2)–1194–95.
198 राजशेखर *Skm.; Kvs.; Sbhv.; Sml.* (14)–85, 174, 188–90, 251, 3423, 3659, 3750, 3757, 3837, 3926, 3928, 3936.
199 राणक (1) 1059.
200 राहुलक *Sbhv.* (1)–3875.
201 रुद्रतीपण्डित (1)–3420.
202 रुद्र *Skm.; Kvs.; Sml. Sbhv.* (9) 3409, 3567–68, 3578–79, 3670, 3675, 3754, 3773.
203 रुद्रट *See* रुद्र *above* (2)–575, 3473.

204 लक्ष्मणखण्डप्रशस्ति (1) 93.
205 लक्ष्मणसेन *Skm.* (1)-923.
206 लक्ष्मी (1) 817.
207 लक्ष्मीधर *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sml.*(5)-578, 869, 1134, 3348, 3921.
208 लोणितक (1)-3442.
209 लोहरत्नाकर (15)-4644-49, 4652 60.
210 लोहार्णव (12)-4622-33.
211 वत्सराजदेव (1)-4107.
212 वररुचि *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (3)-572, 3286, 3506.
213 वराहमिहिर *Skm.*; *Kvs*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (3)-3969-71.
214 वल्लभ *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (1)-3441.
215 वल्लभदेव *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (7)-381, 936, 989, 1000, 1056, 1050, 1128.
216 वसुन्धर *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (1)-120.
217 वस्तुपाल (1)-766.
218 वाक्पतिराज *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sbhv.*; (1)-126.
219 वादीश्वरकाञ्चन (1)-3976.
220 वामन *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (1)-3562.
221 वामनस्वामिन् *Sbhv.* (1)-3957.
222 वाल्मीकि (11)-412, 1247, 3355, 3429, 3456, 3625, 3916, 3988, 3996, 4011, 4024.
223 वाशिष्ठ (87)-4117-22, 4142-43 4157, 4196-4227, 4223-4257, 4336-46.
224 वासिष्ठरामायण (1)-4111.
225 वासुदेव *Skm.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (1)-3513.
226 विकटनितम्बा *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sbhv.* *Sml.* (2)-823, 3671.
227 विक्रमादित्य *Skm.*; *Kvs.*; *Sml.*; *Sbhv.* (1)-277.
228 विज्जुलीनकुल (1)-1710.
229 विज्जका *Skm.*-विद्या : *Kvs.*; *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (13)-180, 451, 509, 582, 1003, 1131, 3322, 3746, 3769, 3794, 3866-67, 3900.
230 विद्यापति *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* विद्याधिपति; *Sml.* (4)-1065, 1202, 3556, 3901.
231 विद्यारण्यश्रीचरण (1)-92.
232 विनायकपण्डित (1)-1254.
233 विष्णुपुराण (7)-703-14, 735.
234 विष्णुशर्मन् *Sbhv.* (7)-309, 330-31, 336-39.
235 वृद्धि *Sbhv.* (2)-889, 4056.
236 वैद्यनाथ (1)-3305.
237 वैद्यभानुपण्डित (4)-973, 1032, 1271, 3328.
238 व्यास *Skm.*; *Sml.* (32)-276, 307, 315-16, 345-46, 386, 393, 417, 467-48, 669-70, 960, 3372, 3624, 3903, 3963, 3979-80, 3982-86, 4003, 4006-8, 4019, 4135-36.
239 शकवर्मन् *Sbhv.* (2)-587, 1110.
240 शकवृद्धि *Sbhv.* (6)-3327, 3331, 3335, 3358, 3402, 3863.
241 शक्तिकुमार (1)-1047.
242 शङ्करकवि *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (2)-12-58-59.
243 शङ्कुक *Sbhv.* (1)-3894.
244 शङ्कुक son of मयूर (1)-3753.
245 शङ्खधर (2)-155, 3632.
246 शशिवर्धन *Sbhv.* (1)-3694.
247 शाण्डिल्य *Skm.*; *Sbhv.* (1)-39·61.

248 शार्ङ्गधर (111)-132, 169-70, 172, 464, 507, 522, 532, 542-43, 577, 731-32, 776, 793, 816, 868, 880, 909, 1014, 1022, 10-64, 1076, 1115, 1133, 1148, 1217, 1528, 1561-62, 1598-1610, 1664-65, 1712-13, 3122-33, 3258, 3299, 3526, 3553, 3601, 3627, 3688-89, 3710, 37-33, 3745, 3755 3830-31, 3839, 4032, 4065, 4166-67, 4347-71, 4497, 4504.

249 शालिहोत्र (18)-1611-28.

250 शिवदासदेव (2)-3701, 4128.

251 शिवस्वामिन *Skm.* : *Kvs.* : *Sbhv.* : *Sml.* (2)-3396, 3511.

252 शीलाभट्टारिका *Skm.* : *Sbhv.*; *Sml.* (4)-3447, 3507, 3572, 3768.

253 शुक (1)-1083.

254 श्रीकण्ठपण्डित *Skm.* : *Kvs.* (1)-550.

255 श्रीकण्ठशम्भु (2)-3253-54.

256 श्रीचन्द्र (1)-965.

257 (श्वेताम्बर) श्रीचन्द्र (1)-3939.

258 श्रीधर (31)-3091-3121.

259 श्रीपालकविराज (1)-3789.

260 श्रीहर्ष *Skm.* ; *Kvs.* ; *Sbhv.* ; *Sml.* (11)-3301, 3401, 3621, 3656, 3660, 3672, 3790, 3797-98, 40-12-13.

261 श्रुतधर *Sbhv.* (2)-1144, 3910.

262 संकुल (1)-3538.

263 सत्कविमिश्र (1)-3489.

264 सरस्वतीकुटुम्ब (2)-1005, 1218.

265 सरस्वतीकुटुम्बदुहितृ (1)-511.

266 सर्वज्ञवासुदेव (1)-3605.

267 सर्वदास (1)-3802.

268 सार्वभौम *Sbhv.*, (3)-62, 64, 1260

269 सिंहदत्त *Sbhv.* (1)-583.

270 सिङ्घापिदि (1)-3291.

271 सुदर्शनकवि (1)-1264.

272 सुबन्धु *Skm.* ; *Sbhv.* (6)-59, 78, 145, 349-50, 4001.

273 सूक्तिसहस्र (4)-584, 3383, 3804, 3868.

274 सूरवमन् *Sbhv.*-शूरवर्मन् (1)-101.

275 सोमकवि *Sbhv.* (1)-3527.

276 सोमनाथप्रशस्ति (1)-109.

277 हनूमत *Skm.* : *Sbhv.* ; *Sml.* (10)-83, 90, 122-25, 128, 133, 1248 3418, 4066.

278 हम्मीरनरेन्द्र (1)-3974.

279 हरिगण *Sbhv.* (8)-131, 352-53, 990, 3573, 4129, 4173-4.

280 हरिहर (4)-77, 3494, 3705, 37-60.

281 हरिहरदेव (2)-183, 559.

282 हेतुक (1)-1019.

VERSES HAVING DOUBLE AUTHORSHIP

561	—	Bhoja	and	a	Brāhmaṇa.
562	—	,,	,,	,,	Paṇḍita.
563	—	,,	,,	,,	Thief.
564	—	,,	,,	,,	Śīlābhaṭṭārikā.
565	—	Vikramāditya	,,	,,	Bhāṇḍāgārika.

566	—	Rājakanyā	and	Guru
567–68	—	,,	,,	Bilhaṇa.
3603	—	Vikramāditya	,,	Meṇṭha
3610	—	Govindasvāmin	,,	Vikaṭanitambā
3810-11	—	Rākṣasa	,,	Paṇḍita
3822	—	Rāmila	,,	Somila.

VERSES BELONGING TO ŚĀRNGADHARA THE AUTHAOR OF THE PADDHATI

1–56, 4617–20, 4650–51.

VERSES ON DIFFERENT TOPICS ASCRIBED TO VARIOUS WORKS.

	Topics	Nos. of Verses.	Works.
1.	सदाचारः	598–664.	धर्मशास्त्रपुराणज्योतिःशास्त्रेभ्यः ।
2.	पातकविवृतिः	699–704.	धर्मशास्त्रेभ्यः ।
3.	राजनीतिः	1281–1419.	राजनीतिभ्यः स्मृतिभ्यो भारताद्रामायणाच्च ।
4	नीतिः	1420–1503.	नीतिशास्त्रेभ्यो भारताच्चाणक्यात्पञ्चाख्यानाच्च ।
5.	धनुर्वेदः	1714–1941.	शिवधनुर्वेदस्य भगवतो व्यासस्य च ।
6.	गान्धर्वशास्त्रम्	1942–2381.	रागार्णवच्छन्दःशास्त्रेभ्य आयुर्वेदाच्च
7.	वृक्षायुर्वेदः	2082–2381.	नानावृक्षायुर्वेदशास्त्रेभ्यः ।
8.	शकुनज्ञानम्	2319–2816.	नानाशकुनशास्त्रेभ्यः केचिन्ममापि ।
9,	पशूनां लक्षणानि	2817–2858.	नानाशास्त्रेभ्यः ।
10.	विषापहरणम्	2859–2965.	नानागारुडशास्त्रेभ्यः ।
11.	भूतविद्या	2966–2973.	नानासंहिताभ्यः ।
12.	बालग्रहोपशमनम्	2974–2977.	आगमशास्त्रेभ्यः ।
13.	कौतुकानि	2978–3026.	नानासंहिताभ्यः ।
14.	कल्पस्थानम्	3027–3072.	,,
15.	योगः	4372–4496.	पुराणेभ्यो योगशास्त्रेभ्यश्च ।

VERSES ASCRIBED TO MORE THAN TWO AUTHORS.

3717–18. एतौ भोजराजकविवर्गस्य ।

Verses which are anonymous or of doubtful authorship have been left out of this paper.

MISCELLANEA

BHĀNUDATTA AND A VERSE ASCRIBED TO HIM

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D.

In his comment on Dr. Haradatta Sarma's article on Bhānukara in the Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XVII, Pt. iii, Dr. S. K. De says: "—but one should take very cautiously the evidence supplied by anthological compilations." (P. 298) Pace Dr. H. D. Sarma who replies on page 258, one has still to agree wilh Dr. S. K. De regarding the general unreliability of the evidence of anthologies. An anthology should be the last evidence any careful research should call in. And if the anthology should be late, it is to be neglected rather than considered in problems of authorial identifications. I shall cite an instance from Dr. H. D. Sarma's article itself. On pp. 256-8, Dr. H. D. Sarma has collected the yet unpublished verses of Bhānudatta or Bhānukara extracted in some anthologies. At the end of p. 257 of the article, we find the anthology Rasikajīvana ascribing to Bhānukara the verse—

पद्भ्यां मुक्तास्तरलगतयः संश्रिता लोचनाभ्यां
श्रोणीभागस्त्यजति तनुतां सेवते मध्यभागः।
धत्ते चक्षुः कु[क]चसचिवतामद्वितीयत्वमास्यं
त्वद्गात्राणां गुणविनिमयः कल्पितो यौवनेन ॥

This is a well-known verse. Though 'Madhya*bhāga*' may explain 'Śroṇī*bhāga*' as the correct reading, the reading 'Śroṇībandha' is also available. Line two is often found as line one. Further, 'Cakṣus' in line three is a mistake for 'Vakṣas' and consequently, the correction of 'Kuca' into 'Kaca' is unnecessary. 'Advitīyatvam āsyam' is also read as 'Advitīyam tu vaktram'.

Who will take it in, if the Rasikajīvana says that Bhānudatta is the author of this verse? It is a verse of Rājaśekhara, occur-

ring in his unfinished drama, Bālabhārata *alias* Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava, Act I, Śl. 28. See Kāvyamālā 4, p. 7, where 'Śroṇībandha etc.' forms the first line and 'Padbhyām etc.', the second. The correct reading of line three 'Vakṣas' and 'Kuca' is given there. See also p. 10. C. Capeller's Edn, where line three reads correctly as in the K. M. Edn, but lines one and two are given as found in the Rasikajīvana. The Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa, edited by Dr. H. D. Sarma himself, gives this as a verse of Rājaśekhara, on p. 69. (Here Śroṇī*biṁbam*; and *Tad*gātrāṇām for *Tvad*gātrāṇām).

According to some commentators on the Kāvyaprakāśa and other writers also like Appayya and Jagannātha, this verse is quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa as an illustration of the figure Paryāya, in ch. X. See Vidyācakravartin and Bhaṭṭagopāla, T. S. S. Edn. K. Pra. part II. p. 361. But the Pradīpa and some other commentaries have a text of the Kāvyaprakāśa without this verse. For the rejection of this verse, see p. 844, com., Vāmanācārya's Edn. of the K. Pra. and for its retention, see p. 68, Rucaka's Kāvyaprakāśa-saṅketa and notes on that page, edn. K. Chattopādhyāya, Calcutta Oriental Journal.

REVIEWS

RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ (The Saga of the Kings of Kaśmir), Translated from the Original Sanskrit of Kalhaṇa and entitled the River of Kings with an Introduction, Annotations, Appendices, Index, etc., by Ranajit Sitaram Pandit, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, 1935 ; Printed by the Indian Press, pp. XXXV + 645 + 21 Plates ; Size 9 in. × 12 in. ; Price Rs. 18/-

An English historian[1] of the Maratha period of Indian History criticizes the Persian authorities on Maratha history with the remark ; " in a history composed in verse, something will be sacrificed to measure and much to rhyme. " To a certain extent this remark is applicable to many of the historical *Kāvyas* of Sanskrit literature. But the case of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* stands on a somewhat different footing and this fact has been admitted by such a distinguished scholar and explorer as Sir Aurel Stein, who published in 1892 his first critical edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and translated the work into English in 1900. He observes :—" it is reassuring to find Kalhaṇa fully alive to the value of *historical impartiality.* " Dr. Stein rightly brings to our notice the judicial attitude adopted by Kalhaṇa in his work as a narrator of historical events. This attitude is expressly indicated by the poet-historian in a verse[2] translated by Mr. Pandit as follows :—

" That man of merit alone deserves praise whose language like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice. "

As regards the sources of history utilised by Kalhaṇa Dr. Stein has already pointed out that Kalhaṇa reviews in his work

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1 Edward Scott Waring : *History of the Marathas*, London, 1810, Preface p. X.

2 This verse is verse 7 of First Taraṅga and reads as follows :—

" श्लाघ्यः स एव गुणवान्रागद्वेषबहिष्कृता ।
भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥ ७ ॥ "

many earlier chronicles. [1] Modern historians lay great stress on inscriptional evidence in dealing with historical questions and Kalhaṇa is not behind them in making "use of inscriptions and other original records" for he states [2] that he has overcome "the trouble arising from many errors by the inspection of ordinances of former kings, religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions as well as written records." In spite of these good points in favour of Kalhaṇa his critical horizon was necessarily limited if we judge his work by the modern standards of historical criticism. Such an attempt has been already made by Dr. Stein in his elaborate Introduction to the English Translation [3] of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. But as Mr. Pandit observes [4] the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* is both a *history* and a *poem* and these "two perhaps go ill together." We must, therefore, judge Kalhaṇa by the standards of inductive criticism and not haul him up for cross-examination before the full bench of big wigs of modern history. It would be equally inappropriate to discard the cultural value of Kalhaṇa's work on the ground that it is "a story of the kings and the royal families and nobility, not of the common folk" (Foreward by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, p. xi). To judge everything old by everything up-to-date is a standard of values, which sets too much value on everything modern. This standard when applied to the works now considered perfect after a period of a thousand years is sure to turn the tables against those who judge ancient works by standards of value evolved by trial and error through centuries. The *up-to-date* theories of the present are bound to be *out-of-date* in the immediate future and those who live in the Ocean of Eternity cannot afford to laugh or even smile at Kalhaṇa's River of Kings. We agree entirely with the Translator when he observes (p. XXVII) :— "Kalhaṇa wrote centuries before the Industrial Revolution and Technocracy ; before even the

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1 Stein : *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Eng. Tran.) Vol. I, 1900, p. 24.

2 Vide Chap. I, verse 15—

"दृष्टैश्च पूर्वभूभर्तृप्रतिष्ठावस्तुशासनैः ।
प्रशस्तिपट्टैः शास्त्रैश्च शान्तोऽशेषभ्रमक्रमः ॥ १५ ॥"

3 *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Eng. Tran.) 1900, pages 1 to 145.

4 Foreward, p. 1.

invention of gun-powder and the printing press. Life was not complicated as it is now and the problems of government not so complex although his contemporary rulers found them difficult enough. He had not heard of the advocacy of the rights of man nor the denunciation of monarchy but he says many things about them in the strictures and caricatures of kings and priests, their morals and methods. He tells us in the colophon that he was the son of a minister of state and it is certain he had not known want and had never worked for a living. But his heart goes out to the poor and down-trodden ; he reveals his sympathy for the underdog, denounces forced labour and expresses his horror of the slave trade of the Mlecchas (Barbarians). As a historian his tendency is, however, towards humanistic studies and towards art rather than towards economic life although descriptions of famine, food prices, taxation, currency and other details of economic life are not lacking in his work. "

The foregoing estimate of Kalhaṇa's achievements and criticism of life as stood exposed to his searching gaze as a poet-historian is quite balanced and reveals the Translator's sympathetic understanding of the basis of Indian culture and history. The translator has preferred " a literal rendering, sometimes even at the cost of grace of language " and we heartily join with the writer of the *Foreward* when he states that the Translator " has chosen rightly, for in a work of this kind exactitude is necessary. " The volume under review contains besides the English translation, (1) *Translator's Note* (pp. XIV-XVIII), which sums up briefly the history of the Rājataraṅgiṇī since its composition by Kalhaṇa (1148-1150 A. D.) and the method followed by the Translator in translating the work, (2) *The Invitation* (pp. XIX-XXXV) which is a critical introduction to the volume dealing with numerous aspects of the contents of the Rājataraṅgiṇī in a general way and their evaluation in the light of modern knowledge, (3) *Appendices A to K* dealing with much historical matter having a direct bearing on the contents of the *Rāgtaraṅgiṇī* and last but not least, (4) *A Bibliography*, a good *Index* and *21 Plates* of historical and archaeological value. All these useful features of the present volume when coupled with excellent printing and

simple but sumptuous get up make it indispensable to every student of Indian history and Sanskrit Literature. The price at which the volume is offered by the publishers is also very modest looking to the costly printing and excellent exterior of the book. We congratulate the Translator–Editor, the Publishers and the Printers on the production of this fine volume which is bound to stimulate the interest of the new generation of Indologists throughout the world.

P. K. Gode.

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES OF THE FIRST INDIAN CULTURAL CONFERENCE (Organised by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta). Pub. by S. C. Seal, M. A., B. L., Hon. General Secretary, 170 Maniktala Street, Calcutta, 1936, Pages 56, Price Rs. 1/8 (Foreign 2s/6d). *Contents*—Preface (pp. 1–2); Proceedings of the Conference from 10th to 13th April 1936; (pp. 3–18); Summaries of Papers (pp. 1–20); Addresses (pp. 1–56).

Titles of Papers Summarised:— *I–Vedic Section* (1) *Disposal of Girls in Yāska's Time* by Mrs. Vanamala Bhawalkar; (2) *Authorship of the Vedas* by R. R. Kasyap; (3) *Caste system as found in the Ṛgveda* by Madhavadas; (4) *Winternitz and Rayachaudhari on the Antiquity of the Ṛgvedasaṁhitā* by Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyaya; (5) *Ṛgveda Orthoepy* by Bata Krishna Ghosh (6) *Padapātha of the Sixth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda* by Manilal Patel.

II – *Philosohpy Section*:–(1) *Theology and Philosophy of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavism* by S. K. De; (2) *Concept of Definition in Madhva Vedānta* by P. Nagaraja Rao; (3) *Pramāṇa and its Scheme in Madhva's Epistemology* by P. Nagarja Rao; (4) *Fundamental Ideas of Indian Sufism* by Enamal Hug; (5) *Conception of Avidyā in Vedānta Philosophy* by Satkari Mukerji; (6) *A study of Bhartṛhari's Philosophy* by Gouri Nath Bhattacharya.

III–*Sanskrit Section*:–(1) *An Adyar Ms of Janārdana's commentary on the Raghuvaṁśa intermingled with meanings of Text words in the Old Gujarati Language* by P. K. Gode; (2) *A Note on the Śābdanirṇaya* by Makhanlal Mukerji; (3) *Use and Abuse af Alaṁkāra in*

Sanskrit Literature by V. Raghavan; (4) *Our Present Bhavisya Purāṇa* by R. C. Hazra; (5) *Study of Mss* by Chintaharan Chakravarti; (6) *Lakṣaṇā in the Abhinavabhāratī*— its bearing on the respective *Chronology of Kuntaka and Abhinavagupta* by P. C. Lahiri; (7) *Greatness of Sanskrit* by K. Sundararam Aiyar; (8) *Origin of Music* by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

IV—*Indian History and Culture Section*—(1) *Some recent Views on the Gupta Era,* by Miss K. K. Gupta; (2) *The Kākatīya Rudradeva* by N. N. Dasgupta (3) *Foreign Trade of Ancient India* by A. K. Sur; (4) *Palaeographical Notes on the Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahāsthān* by C. C. Dasgupta; (5) *Crime of Thugi and its Suppression etc.* by Ishwar Sahai; (6) *Provincial Government under the Khalji Sultans* by A. C. Banerji; (7) The *Mandasor Inscription* of the *Silk-Weaver's Guild* by Dasharath Sarma; (8) *Ancient Kingdom of Punnāta* by B. A. Saletore; (9) *Regnal Period of Hoyasala Someśvara* by A Venkatasubbiah; (10) *Some Neglected aspects of the caste system* by Sri Rama Sharma; (11) *Rajputs* by Bisheswarnath Reu; (12) *Kosam Stone Image Inscription of Maharaja Bhimavarman of the year 130* by Amalananda Ghosh; (13) *The Varmans of Eastern Bengal* by Promod Lal Paul; (14) *The Stone of Pereng, 785 Śaka* by A. B. Sarkar; (15) *Nagnajit and the antiquity of Indian Art and Architecture* by J. C. Ghosh; (16) *Stūpi* by K. R. Pisharoti; (17) The *Royal Crowns of Indian Kings* by P. K. Acharya; (18) *A Kṛṣṇa Panel of Paharpur* by S. K. Saraswati.

V—*Buddhistic Section*—(1) *Dharma Samuccaya* by B. M. Barua; (2) *Family Life in Pre-Buddhist days* by Ratilal Mehta (3) *Abhayākara-Gupta* by N. N. Dasgupta; (4) *Rebirth and Omniscience* in Pāli Buddhism? (5) *Prof. L. V. Poussin on Sākya Vanam* by Sten Konow.

VI—*Jain Section*—(1) *Predecessors of Tirthaṁkara Mahāvīra* by K. P. Jain; (2) *Doctrine of Relativity in Jain Metaphysics* by Satkari Mookerji; (3) *Jainism—its Metaphysics and Ethics* by R. C. Ghose; (4) *A Study in Proto-Jainism* by A. K. Sur.

VII—*Bengal Section*—(1) *Bhuvanarañjaner Ānanda-Vilāsa* by N. N. Dasgupta; (2) *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism and the Early Vaiṣṇavas of the South* by Śaśibhusan Dasgupta; (3) *Development of Bengali Poetry in the 19th century* by M. Sarvadhikary; (4) *Brahmavidyā*

by Madhavadas; (5) *Indravriter Upākhyāna* by Madhavadas; (6) *Vaivasvata Manu* by Haridas Palit.

VIII—*Zoroastrian Section*—(1) *Zoroaster, His Work and His Times* by N. N. Ghose; (2) *Gāthās of Zarathuśtra* by Manilal Patel; (3) *Gāyatrī Prayer of the Zoroastrians* by Asokanath Sastri

IX—*Ayurveda and Positive Science Section*—(1) *Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the Early Mediaeval Period* by N. N. Dasgupta; (2) *Human Body according to the Garbhopaniṣad* by the late Ekendranath Ghosh; (3) *Anatomy of the Human Body* (as described in Pali) by B. M. Barua; (4) *Bhela Saṁhitā edited by Ashutosh Mookerjee* by B. M. Barua; (5) *Rāvaṇa Tantras* by M. R. Samey; (6) *Individual Hygiene in the Orient* by S. F. Husain Khan; (7) *Plants as known to the Indian from the Vedic Age to the 12th century* by G. P. Majumdar; (8) *The Epoch of the so called Harṣa Era* by D. N. Mukerji; (9) *History of Indian Astronomy* by Radhaballav.

We have given the above list of papers submitted to the Indian Cultural Conference to acquaint the readers of the Annals with this new actvity of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, which is designed with a view to furnish "an occasion for an annual stock-taking of the results achieved so far in different parts of the globe by the assiduous indologists in their efforts to resusciate the magnificent religio-cultural heritage of India." The venue of the conference will be Calcutta and the conference will henceforward meet in the winter season. The conference "is not meant to create a rival to other Oriental Conferences."

P. K. Gode.

ŚĀRADĀTILAKA of Lakṣmaṇadeśikendra with the Commentary *Padārthādarśa* of Rāghavabhaṭṭa (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 107); Pub. by Jayakrishnadas Haridas Gupta, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benares city, 1934; pp. 552; Price Rs. 5/-

Before an authoritative history of Tantra Literature comes to be written the publication of all important Tāntric texts is an indispensable preliminary and the edition of the Śāradātilaka under notice, closely printed and cheaply priced as it is, goes a great way in that direction. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary, replete

with references to earlier Tantric treatises, supplies to a critical student that veritable mine of literary strata, which, if unearthed would lead to new lines of historical investigation in the field of Tantra literature and its chronology. We have proved elsewhere [1] that our commentator is identical with the commentator of the same name whose commentary on the Śākuntala and other works have been much exploited by the modern annotators as Rāghavabhaṭṭa is a literary connoisseur *par excellence*. As the colophon to the present edition tells us, he was a Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin, his family having migrated from Nasik to Benares and he was trained at Benares in different branches of learning, the present commentary being a fine specimen of his deep erudition and vast learning even in a special branch of learning like the Tantra literature.

This commentary was completed in Saṁvat 1550 (=A. D. 1494) i. e. about 442 years ago. His grandfather was Rāmeśvara and his father was Pṛthvīdharabhaṭṭa who migrated from Nasik to Benares and lived there till his death, having attained proficiency in the different sciences. Rāghavabhaṭṭa of such an illustrious parentage being brought up in the creative literary atmosphere of the time-hallowed Benares, the seat of learning even to this day, naturally flashed forth into the domain of commentarial literature and contributed his quota to it in a remarkable way.

The volume under review is marked " Tantra Śāstra Section, No. 1 " and hence we presume that many more volumes in this Tantra section are contemplated by the publishers. We congratulate the publishers on the successful commencement of this new section which in course of time is bound to give a new impetus to the study of this mistakenly underrated field of literature.

P. K. Gode.

1 *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, March, 1936.

THE KAṬHA UPANIṢAD (Death's Teaching on Immortality) An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God— By J. N. RAWSON.-Oxford University Press; -Calcutta: Association Press, 1934. Price Rs. 7/8/- net.—xviii, 242. Carey Centenary Volume.

Professor Rawson of the Serampore College is to be congratulated on what be called an original contribution to the 'study of the Upaniṣads and in particular that poetic and highly philosophical work, the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. The volume is intended to commemorate the passing away of the founder of the Serampore College, WILLIAM CAREY and as such is a very fitting contribution to Oriental Literature. The sub-title of the work is "An Introductory Study in the Hindu Doctrine of God and of Human Destiny," and clearly explains the object and scope of the book. For all the ancient Upaniṣads the Kaṭha alone deals systematically for the first time with the problem of God and Man.

The book is divided into three sections. The first part is the Introduction which is subdivided into two sections, one for the general reader explaining the scope of the work, and the other the general introduction, describing the nature and classification of the Upaniṣads in the Vedic literature, their date and the history of their philosophy. At the end of this general introduction, there is a special introduction to the Kaṭha Upaniṣad discussing the question of its school and place of composition, its integrity and date and its relationship with other Vedantic and Vedic works. The author places the work to a period ranging from the 5th to the 3rd century B. C. The earliest part of Kaṭha, viz. chapter I is definitely placed between 550 and 500 B. C. while the Gītā is placed about 200 B. C. While it is possible to differ from the author in these vexed questions of dates, it should be mentioned that he has presented all the other current views on the topic in a critical spirit, and any difference on these questions does not take away from the value of the general observations.

Before proceeding to the Upaniṣad translation and commentary Prof. Rawson has wisely given the argument of the Kaṭha

in order to make an understanding of the subsequent portion easier. The method adopted is as follows: first the text is given in Devanāgarī characters followed by a transliterated text and the translation which attempts as far as possible to reproduce the original music of the Upaniṣad. Then follows the author's commentary on the verse which discusses not only individual words, but also the ideas and implication based on such words and on the passages as a whole. In the course of these comments the opinions of the Ācāryas like Śaṁkara and Rāmānuja are cited critically. The author covers the entire Upaniṣadic literature (so far as the principal ones are concerned).

The aim of the author is to present the origin of the doctrine of God and Human Destiny in relationship to Him. In this he has admirably succeeded. He shows that the Kaṭha teaches "the mystery and wonder of the Supreme Being" (p. 38), and the necessity for a *guru* to unfold the Self within, not by mere intellectual methods, but by direct vision. In fact the author could have further demonstrated that this Self or Inner Being is really the *Sadguru* in the final analysis, and the outer *guru* is but an instrument in those divine Hands.

Towards the end there are five appendices. The first gives the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa version of the Naciketas legend; the second and perhaps the most instructive deals with the parable of the Chariot, as occurring in Ṛgveda I, 164, Ait. Ār. II, i-iii, Chāgaleya Upaniṣad, Dhammapada, Milinda-pañha and the Maitri. The third deals with the practice of Yoga in the Śvetāśvatara and the Gītā. The last two are in the form of notes. There is a very useful index, just as there is a full bibliography of works cited or otherwise used in the preparation of the edition.

In the author's own summing up is the quintessence of the Kaṭha: "So today the same message comes to India's youth as came to Naciketas, "Arise, awake: Obtain your boons and understand:"—the boon of the knowledge of God, promised to those who truly seek, no philosophic abstraction but Soul of our soul, our Creator, Redeemer, and Sustainer; the boon of the knowledge of ourselves, utterly weak and unworthy if we live in selfish isolation, yet sons of God, of infinite worth and unmeasured potency if yoked in communion with Divine wisdom

and power; and the boon of service, of the privilege of using all the powers of our being, raised to their highest through communion with Him, in His service through the service of our fellowmen."

Thus the book, at once scholarly and deeply mystical, treated in its proper length without going away from the main issues, and quite original in its method, deserves a place on the book-shelf of every person interested in true spiritual growth in particular and Indian Philosophy in general.

S. M. Katre.

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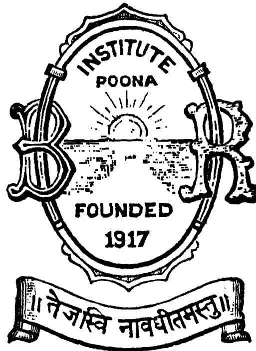
Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Volume XVIII 1937

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THE FORMATION OF KOṄKAṆĪ

BY

S. M. KATRE, M. A., Ph. D. (London).

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. I propose to deal in this sketch with the origin and development of the Koṅkaṇī language as represented by some of its principal dialects. In my Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇī[1] I have attempted a study of nearly twenty dialects, materials for all of which are available in a varying degree. But in the present sketch I shall limit myself to the following six dialects which, beside being respresentative, provide rich material in the form of grammars, dictionaries, glossaries and contemporary literature. These dialects are:

s. Koṅkaṇī spoken by the Kanara or Chitrapur Sārasvats.

gs. K. spoken by the Gauḍa Sārasvats.

g. K. of the Goa Hindus, represented particularly in the writings of Mr. Valavlikar and in the Quarterly Journal *Navẽ Gõy* published by the Gomantak Press in Bombay.

x. K. of the Christians of Mangalore and South Kanara.

nx. K. of the Christians of North Kanara.

[1] See the *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, vol. II. no. 1ff, wherein the Glossary is appearing serially.

gx. K. of the Christians of Goa.

Thus we have here three representative Hindu and three Christian dialects of Koṅkaṇī which are principally dealt with; where necessary I have made reference to the other dialects also and the abbreviations will be indicated in the appropriate places.

§ 2. In the writing of this study I have constantly referred to the following works:

A. *ON KOṄKAṆĪ.*

(i) Grammars:

1. *A Koṅkaṇī Grammar* by Father Angelus Francis Xavier Maffei, Mangalore, 1882.
2. *Elementos Gramaticais da Lingua Concani*, pelo Cónego José de S. Rita E. Souza, Lisboa 1929.
3. *Grammatica da Lingua Concani*, composto pelo Padre Thomaz Estevão, segunda impressão, Nova Goa, 1857.
4. *Gramatica da Lingua Concani*, by Mr. V. G. Rangel, 1933.

(ii) Dictionaries:

1. *Diccionario Portuguez-Concani*, composto por um Missionario Italiano, Nova Goa, 1868.
2. *Diccionario Koṁkaṇī-Portuguez*, pelo Monsenhor Sebastião R. Dalgado, Bombay 1893.
3. *Diccionario Portuguez-Koṁkaṇī*, by Mgr. Dalgado, Bombay 1905.
4. *English-Koṅkaṇī & Koṅkaṇī English Dictionary* by Father A F. X. Maffei, Mangalore, 1883.
5. *An Etymological Glossary of Southern Koṅkaṇī, part* I, by H. Narayan Rao, B. A., B. L., Bombay 1917.
6. *Furtadacho Novo Concani-Ingl'ez Dicionar*, Bombay 1930.
7. *A Dictionary of Concanim into English*, by A. C. José Francisco, Bombay 1916.
8. *A Comparative Glossary of Koṅkaṇī*, by S. M. Katre, published serially in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, vol. II *seq.*

(iii) Literature :

1. Mr. Valavlikar's writings, such as *Koṅkaṇi Bhāṣecē Jait*, etc.
2. Dr. Chavan : *Koṅkaṇi language*, Bombay 1924. *Koṅkaṇi Proverbs*, Bombay 1926.
3. Rao Bahdur S. S. Talmaki : *Koṅkaṇī Proverbs*, Bombay 1933, 1936.
4. *Navẽ Gõy*, Quarterly Journal in gK., published by the Gomantak Press, Bombay.
5. S. M. Katre : *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, Calcutta University, 1935.
6. Dr. Santana Rodrigues : *The Origin of Koṅkaṇi Language*, Coimbra, 1929.

B. *ON ALLIED LANGUAGES.*

1. Meillet : *Introduction a' l'etude comparative des langues indo-europèennes*, Paris 1934 (7th ed).
2. Jules Bloch : *La formation de la langue marathe*, Paris 1920, and *L'indo-aryen du Vèda aux temps modernes*, Paris, 1934.
3. S. K. Chatterji : *Origin and Development of Bengali*, Calcutta, 1926.
4. Banarsi Das Jain : *Phonology of Punjabi*, Lahore, 1934,
5. R. L. Turner : *A Comparative, Etymological Dictionary of Nepali*—(of capital importance for Indo-Aryan Linguistics), London, 1931, and *Gujarati Phonology* in JRAS, 1921.
6. *The Wilson Philological Lectures*, delivered by (a) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and (b) Prof. N. B. Divatia.
7. *Linguistic Survey of India.* vol. VII. 1905.
8. Wackernagel : *Altindische Grammatik*, I, II-1, III, 1896-1930.

The other sources will be referred to in their proper places.

§ 3. This study is divided into three parts : Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. The fourth and concluding part will

deal with the position of Koṅkaṇī in Indo-Aryan and the various historical and other details available from different sources for a proper evaluation of the development of Koṅkaṇī and its breaking up into a number of dialects. In this terminal essay I shall also deal with the influences at work in Koṅkaṇī and give a detailed description of all the dialects.

As the subject of the growth and development of these dialects is dealt with here for the first time with some degree of scientific accuracy by the application of the canons of modern linguistics, it will be of some use to the serious student of General as well as Indo-Aryan Linguistics in that Koṅkaṇī is pre-eminently fit to illustrate the case of a non-literary language, which has kept its unique characteristics through the passage of centuries.

The lack of authoritative pronouncing dictionaries for the different dialects has been a great handicap to me in as much as no two dictionaries agree in a common orthography. But I have surmounted most of these difficulties by verifying the pronunciation of all such words. I am advisedly using the Roman trancription in preference to others as more convenient and logical, besides being useful to General Linguists.

§ 4. For a general description of Indo-Aryan languages reference may be made to Prof. Jules Bloch's *L'indo-aryen*,[1] where he deals separately with the three stages through Vedic and Sanskrit to Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, literary and inscriptional Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas) and the modern vernaculars of Northern India. The relationship of Koṅkaṇī to the other vernaculars of Northern India will be considered in the terminal essay. It will be sufficient to mention here that Koṅkaṇī belongs to the same group which includes Marāṭhī and shows clear affinities with Gujarati also.

PART I : PHONOLOGY.

§ 5. Koṅkaṇī possesses the following sounds, a description of which is given in my Koṅkaṇī Phonetics :

Vowels : *a, ā, i. ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō, ǝ.*

Consonants : *k, kh, g, gh, c, č, j, ǰ, ch, čh, jh, ǰh, ñ, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l. v, ś, s, h, ḷ, (ṛ).*

[1] See also his "*La langue marathe*" §§ 1-26.

VOWELS

§ 6. It will be seen from the above that Koṅkaṇī possesses the vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, short and long, as well as *e*, *o*, which are also short and long, but not indicated in the Devanāgarī orthography as such. For actual pronunciation of these vowels see *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, §§ 33-40.

The primitive Indo-Aryan (PI-A.) diphthongs were already lost in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MI-A.) stage, and they have come down as *e*, *o*, *i* or *u* in Koṅkaṇī (K.), but new diphthongs of recent origin have come into being, due to the dropping of single intervocalic consonants in MI-A. where the *udvṛtta* vowel did not combine with the preceding or following vowel, but did so in the New Indo-Aryan (NI-A.) stage. Though *ȧ* is really [ɔ] and as such the equivalent of *o*, I have retained this symbol for the sake of a special discussion (see §§ 32-45).

TREATMENT OF Ṛ VOWEL.

§ 7. In my paper on the treatment of *Ṛ* in Pali [1] I have already mentioned that *ṛ* of Sanskrit (Sk.) was represented by *a*, *i*, *u*, *ra*, *ri*, *ru* or *rū* in Pali. This breaking up of *ṛ* (as well as *ḷ*), evident even in certain isolated forms in the Ṛgveda, was completed in MI-A, except in certain borrowed words, and in NI-A. *a*, *i* or *u* represent this Sk. *ṛ* besides the corresponding Sk. vowels. These three treatments are generally found side by side in all NI-A. languages. By an examination of the development of this vowel in Aśokan Inscriptions Prof. Jules Bloch has come to the conclusion that *ṛ* > *a* is the usual treatment in the south-west and *ṛ* > *i* in the north and east. [2] The predominant treatment in Panjabi is thus *ṛ* > *i*. [3]

§ 8. Sk. *ṛ* > K. *a* : s. *kaśi*, x. *kasi* (*kṛṣí-*) agriculture, cultivation ; s. *ghāṭṭūka* (*ghṛṣṭá-*) to churn ; s. gs. *taṇa* (*tṛ́ṇa-*) grass ; s. gs. *tāṇa*, g. *tān* (*tṛ́ṣṇā*) desire, thirst ; gx. *ā̃svel* (*ṛ́kṣa-*) bear ; s. gs. *nā̃čūka* (*nṛ́tyati*) to dance ; x. *pāṭi*, gx. *pāṭ*, g. *phāṭ*, s. gs. *phāṭi* (*pṛṣṭhá-*) the back ; s. gs. *maḍẽ* (*mṛtaka-*) corpse ; s. gs. *mātti* g. x. gx. *māti* (*mṛ́ttikā*) earth ; s. gs. *vāḍi* (*vṛddhi-*) growth, interest ; s. gs. *saḍlu*, x. *saḍil* (cf. **śṛthira-*: Sk. *śithila-*and root *śrath-*) loose ; s. *saṁkāḷi*, x. *sāṅkaḷ* (*śṛṅkhalā*) chain, fetter.

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[1] ABORI, vol. XVI, pp. 189-201.

[2] *La langue marathe*, § 31.

[3] Jain § 95.

§ 9. Sk. *ṛ* > K. *i* : s. gs. *rīṇa* (*ṛṇá-*) debt ; s. gs. *distā* (*dṛśyáte*) appears, seems ; s. *dristi*, gs. *diṣṭi*, x. *diṣṭ* (*dṛ́ṣṭi-*) sight ; s. *viccu*, gs. *vimcu*, gx. *imcu* (*vṛ́ścika-*) scorpion ; s. *kiśan* (*kṛṣṇá-*) proper name ; s. gs. *miṭhāi* (*mṛṣṭá-*) sweetmeat ; s. gs. *śiṁga*, x. *śiṁga* (*śṛ́ṅga-*) horn.

§ 10. Sk. *ṛ* > K. *u* : gx. *krupā*, x. *kurvā* (*kṛpā*) pity, compassion ; . gs. *pāusu*, x. gx. *pāus* (*prāvṛ́ṣa-*) rainy season, rains ; s. gs. *mōsu*, x. *mos* (*mṛ́ṣā*) deception (cf. Kanarese *mosa*, der. fr. Sk.) ; gx. *gusoṁk* (*ghṛṣ* –) to enter ; s. *kuṭṭaṇu* (*kṛṣṇá-*) proper name ; s. *huṁgtā* (* *śṛṅghati*) smells.

§ 11. It will be clear from the above that in Koṅkaṇī the normal change i *ṛ* > *a*. The explanation of the third treatment (except in the case of s. gs. *mātti*, x. *māti*) is that due to the presence of a labial element in the neighbourhood *ṛ* is changed to *u*. The variations in the treatment of *ṛ* are found in all I–A. languages, and are due not only to phonetic influences but also to borrowing from the central dialects. [1]

§ 12. That the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* represent normally the corresponding Sk. sounds will be clear from the following examples :

A. K. *ă* ∠ Sk. *ă* : s. *agaḷu* bar, latch; *āggaḷu* nx. *āgvaḷ*, sv. *āgoḷ*, *aggoḷu* (*agra-valaya-*) braid of hair, tress , s. gs. *aguṣṭē*, x. *āguṭē* nx. *āgṭē* (*agniṣṭhikā*) braziery; s. gs. *aṭligā* (*aṭṭālikā*) wall plank used as depositary ; x. nx. gx. g. *āj*, s. gs. *āji* (*adyá* –) today ; s. gs. *ācāru* (*ācāra-*) taboo , nx. *āghāḍo* (*āghāṭá-*) a plant ; s. gs. *ājjo*, x. nx. gx. *ājo* (*ārya-*) grandfather ; s. gs. *kartā* (*karoti*), *mārtā* (*mārayati*), *gaḷo* (*gala-*), *kānu* (*kárṇa-*), etc.

B. K. *ĭ* ∠ Sk. *ĭ* : s. gs. x. gx. nx. *iṁgḷo* (*iṅgāra-*) live coal , x. gx. *iṁḍ*, s. gs. *hīṁḍu* (*hiṇḍa-*) flock ; gx. *iṁdḷo*, *iṁduḷo* (*hindolaḥ*) hammock ; gx. *īv* (*himá-*) cold ; s. gs. *vīju*, gx, *īj* (*vidyút*) lightning ; nx. *īṭ*, s. gs. *iṭṭigā* (*iṣṭā*, *iṣṭakā*) brick ; s. gs. *śījtā* (*sidhyati*) is cooked etc.

C. K. *ŭ* ∠ Sk. *ŭ* : s. gs. *uddāka*, x. *udāk* (*udaká-*) water; s. gs. *muddi*, x. nx. gx. *mudi* (*mudrikā*) ring ; ts. *uṁduru* (*umdura-*) rat, etc.; s. gs. *mūta*, x. nx. gx. *mūt* (*mū́tra-*) wine ; s. gs. *sūta* (*sū́tra-*) string , etc.

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[1] *La langue marathe*, § 31.

§ 13. PI–A. differed from MI–A. in that it admitted of a greater variety of sounds (including ṛ, ḷ, ai, au, ṅ, ñ) and combination of consonants beside its comparative richness in morphology. Besides the changes in the above-mentioned vowels, MI–A, had affected primarily a change in the conjunct consonants through the general principle of assimilation and reduced them to double consonants, and in the case of original single intervocalic consonants reduced them (from unvoiced to voiced, and from voiced to spirant and zero) according to the development of the particular dialect concerned. Thus *-t-* and *-th-* were reduced to *-d-* and *-dh-* in Śaurasenī, but were completely reduced by loss of occlusion giving *-h-* in the aspirated consonant only in Māhārāṣṭrī. With the loss of these intervocalic consonants the *udvṛtta* vowel came into contact with the preceding or following vowel without combining with it. But when we come down to the NI–A. stage we find further changes affecting even the PI–A. and MI–A. vowels which are the least affected sounds in I–A. Excepting the loss of PI–A. ṛ, ḷ, *ai*, *au*, all the vowels have preserved their quality and quantity with very few exceptions in MI-A, but when followed by a closed syllable the long vowels have become short except in NW. Prakrits.[1] After the literary Apabhraṁśa stage vowels in unaccented syllables have undergone fundamental changes.

§ 14. This naturally leads us to the question of accent. In Vedic the accent was mainly musical, but whether there was in addition a stress accent is open to doubt in view of the Hindu Grammarians' silence about it. In the explanation of certain Pk. forms Pischel ascribed to the musical accent functions similar to those of the stress accent. Grierson and Jacobi, on the other hand assumed a stress accent to explain the vowel changes.[2] Whatever may have been the state of affairs in PI–A. and MI–A., it is convenient to consider the syllabic prominence of a word or its quantitative rhythm in the study of the regular changes of quantity or even quality in Koṅkaṇī as in Marāṭhī or Panjabi.[3] This

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1 T. Michelson, JAOS., vol. XXXI, p. 232.

2 Jain, § 10; Pischel, §§ 141–147.

3 Jain, p. 8; for a further discussion on accent see *La langue marathe* §§ 32 seq.; Jain, §§ 10–12.

syllabic prominence is characterised by three factors, viz., length, pitch and stress. The change will naturally depend upon the position of the vowel in the word, whether it is final, penultimate or prepenultimate, i. e. whether it is in accented or unaccented syllables.

A. FINAL VOWELS.

§ 15. Already in MI-A. the final consonants of PI-A. had dropped out with the result that all words ended only in vowels, reducing even the different classes of noun and verb inflexions to the standard type with a few exceptions only. Thus MI-A. knows only words ending in vowels; even here there was a tendency to reduce the final long vowels, though not to a very pronounced degree. Even in Sk. in the forms *yátrā*, *tátrā*, etc. the vowel has been reduced from the Vedic stage and come down only as *yatra*, *tatra*, etc. Some of these reductions have been attributed to contamination or analogy. At the time of the literary Apabhraṁśa stage the final *o* of the nom. sg. of masculine nouns ending in *-a* tends to become more and more *-u*, though not universally. Similarly *-e* and *-o* have been reduced to *-i* and *-u* respectively in the fragments of Dutreuil de Rhins.[1] This tendedcy only emphasises the fact that the final vowels in MI-A. were pronounced with very little accent and in course of time were lost in NI-A.

In almost all NI-A. languages this final vowel was lost, the sole exceptions being Bihari, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Singalese and some of the dialects of Koṅkaṇī (see §§ 17-ff.). The northern group of Koṅkaṇī dialects following in the footsteps of other NI-A. languages, drop the final vowel.

§ 16. a) MI-A. *-a* and *-aṁ* (final) are lost in: gx. nx. g. *āj* (*adyá* : s. gs. *āji*) today; gx. *ā̃s* (*haṁśa-*) a drake; nx. *ā̃v* (*āmá-*) mucous; n. gx. *āṭ*, nx. *āṭh* (*aṣṭa-*) eight (but s. gs. *āṭa*); gx. nx. g. *kāl* (*kalyá-*) yesterday (but s. gs. *kāli*), gx. g. *pāy*, *pāv* (*pāda-* : s. gs. *pāyu*, *pāvu*) meaning respectively the foot and a measure of weight, gx. g. nx. *tāk* (*takram* : s. gs. *tāka*) buttermilk; gx. *mōnus*, *mànus* (*manuṣyá-*) man; gx. *mon*, g. *màn* (*mánas* : *maṇəm*, s. gs. *mana*) mind.

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[1] *La langue marathe*, § 37.

b) MI-A. -*ā* and -*āṁ* are lost in: gx. *āk* (Pk. *hakkā*) shout; gx. g. nx. *ās* (*āśā*) desire, *jāṁg* (*jaṅghā*) the thigh; g. gx. nx. *vāṭ* (*vartman* : Pk. *vaṭṭā*, *vaṭṭāṁ* : s. gs. *vāṭa*) way, g. gx. nx. *lāj* (*lajjā*) shame.

c) MI-A. -*i* and -*iṁ* are lost in: nom-acc. sg. of nouns ending in -*i*-: g gx. nx. *āg* (*agniḥ*) fire; gx. *mōt*, *mat* (*mati*-) understanding.

d) MI-A. -*ī* and -*īṁ* are lost in: nom.-acc. sg. and pl. of Sk. feminine nouns : -*ī*, *īṁ*, -*īḥ*, -*īn*, and feminine adjectives with Sk. ending -*inī* : *īṇ* (with compensatory lengthening of the penultimate) or -*ṇ* (with complete loss of the penultimate) : nx. *bhikārīṇ*, *bhikārṇ*, gx. *bikāṇ* (-*kāriṇī*) a beggar woman ; gx. *ārekārṇ*, *ārekāṇ* (-*kāriṇī*) a paralytic woman.

e) MI-A. -*u* and -*uṁ* are lost in: nom.-acc. sg. of nouns ending in -*u*-: gx. *iṁg* (*hiṅgu*-) asafoetida ; gx. *ij* (*vidyut*-) lightning; — in the absolutive in -*unu* (attested in early Marāṭhī and in s. gs.) which appears to be due to contamination of Apabhraṁśa -*ūṇa* with -*eviṇu*, *eppiṇu* : *-*uṇu* : gx. *āsūn* (but s. gs. *āsūnu*) etc.

f) Examples of the loss of MI-A.-*ū* and -*ūṁ* are not common as this sound is already rare in Sk.; we can cite gx. *ij*, however, as the MI-A. inflected form is *vijjū*.

g) Sk. -*e* and -*o* are reduced in inflection : gx. g.x . etc. *ās-pās* (-*pārśve*) ; g. gx. nx. *dēv* (*devaḥ* : Pa. *devo*, unless we consider the Apabhraṁśa form *devu* and bring it under (e) above) ; in this sense Sk. -*e* and -*o* are first reduced to -*i* and *u* and subsequently lost. As in Marāṭhī, -*e* is attested in K. *āmī*, *tumī* (through *asmé*, **tuṣmé*).

§ 17. Grierson,[1] and following him Bloch[2] attribute the retention of the final vowel in Koṅkaṇ Marāṭhī[3] and in Koṅkaṇī to Dravidian influence. As seen above the northern dialects of Koṅkaṇī (nx., gx. and g.) are conspicuous by the absence of this final vowel of MI-A. and follow the generality of NI-A. langu-

[1] *L. S. I.*, vol. *Mar.*, pp. 167, 188, 189.
[2] *La Langue marathe*, p. 54.
[3] (as a short vowel always).

ages. But s. and gs. and to some extent x. and the southern-most dialect of Koṅkaṇī spoken in Cochin have preserved this vowel. Now the whole of the Koṅkaṇ territory was under the influence of Cālukya and Yādava rule from the 6th to about the 14th century, A. D., and consequently we may expect to find Dravidian traces in the Indo-Aryan languages which developed from MI-A. to NI-A. within this region. The only point in this connection is the consideration of an alternative hypothesis: (i) the final vowel of MI-A. is retained, or (ii) a new vowel has developed after the final vowel once disappeared.

The Rev. Dr. Caldwell [1] remarks: "Short *u* is of all vowels the weakest and lightest, and is largely used, especially at the end of words, for euphonic purposes, or as a help to enunciation." Thus in grammatical and literary Telugu every word without exception ends in a vowel as in modern Canarese. But in old Canarese and Tamil an -*u* is added only after the surds *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* or *r*, but this -*u* is so short that the grammarians consider it equal to half of short *u*, and it is even mistaken for a short *a*, both of which in these circumstances are written as *ů* and *å*. In Malayalam this sound is still more short as not to be written at all or if written indicated by the short circle above.

If we accept the second alternative and hold that s. gs., x. and c, after the dropping of MI-A. final vowels, as in nx., gx, and g., followed the mode set by these Dravidian languages, we shall have to fix the period of these new developments from the 16th century A. D. downwards, for it was in consequence of the Portuguese persecution which commenced on 30th June 1541 and continued unabated for over six decades, that a general exodus of the Brahmins of Goa took place, and they sped southwards, first overrunning North Kanara and then South Kanara and even Cochin, although there had been sporadic emigration long before this time. But against this we should consider the forms like *devo*, *bhevo*, *mhāru*, *ritu*, *bholu*, *s̃ābhāḷunu*, etc. quoted by Padre Thomaz Estevão. [2] These forms prove beyond doubt that even in this period the Koṅkaṇī of the Goa Brahmins preserved

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 3rd ed. 1913, p. 134.

[2] *Grammatica da Lingua Concani*, 2nd. ed. 1857, 1st. ed. 1640, §§ 23, 24.

the final vowels of MI-A and consequently the loss occurred at a much later date, so far as K. dialects were concerned. We are thus restricted to the first alternative that when s., gs. and x. separated from the Goa stock the final vowel was still pronounced, and it was only subsequent to this separation that the northern dialects g., gx. and nx. lost this vowel. This theory then limits the Dravidian influence only to the retention of the MI-A. vowels of the Apabhraṁśa stage and not to their introduction after they were once lost.

§ 18. s. gs. and x. have two series of words deriving from Sk. nouns ending in *-a-*, the masculine and the neuter; the masculine ends in *-u* and the neuter in *-a*, and this applies not only to inherited words, but also to learned borrowings.

Examples : a) Masc. : s. gs. ***pāyu***, ***pāvu*** (*pādaḥ* : Pa. *pādo*), ***phāttōru*** or ***phātlaru*** (*prastaráḥ* : Pa. Pk *pattharo*) a stone ; ***mhōru*** (*mayūraḥ*) peacock ; *kānū* (*kárṇaḥ*) ear ; *devu* (*deváḥ*), *rāmu* (*rāmaḥ*), ***kāḷu*** (*kālaḥ*), etc. Now in the example Sk. *prastaráḥ* : Pk. Pa. *pattharo*, Ap. *pattharu*, s. gs. ***phāttōru***, the final ***-u*** is seen affecting even the penultimate ***-a-*** and changing it to *-ō-* or *-à-* depending upon the number, as seen even in g. gx. *phātor* (sg.) and *phātàr* (pl.). The forms *devo*, *bhevo*, etc. given by Father Stephens are to be similarly explained, the *-o* being ratained and not reduced to ***-u*** due to the presence of the bilabial *v*.

b) Neuter : s. gs. *phala* (*phálam*), *kāǰǰaḷa* (*kajjalam*), *mana* (*manas* : Pk. ***maṇaṁ***), ***toṁḍa*** (***tuṇḍam***), ***piṁḍa*** (*piṇḍaḥ* : but neut. in K.); *kāma* (*kárman* : Pa. *kammaṁ*) besides *karma*, *ghara* (MI-A. *gharaṁ* through Sk. *gṛha-*) etc.

That s., gs etc. have not been directly influenced by Kanarese is illustrated by the following examples : *kāḍa* (Can. *kāḍu*) forest; *māḍa* (Can. *māḍu*) roof, etc. All neuter nouns thus end in ***-a-*** (with a few exceptions dealt with later on) which are derived from Sk. nouns in *-a-* or from Dravidian.

§ 19. Another case of such retention, but with reduction of quantity, is of feminine nouns in MI-A. *-a-*: s. gs. *vāṭa* (***vartman*** : Pk. *vaṭṭā* f.), quoted also by Father Stephens in his grammar, § 36, as *vāttō* where *ō* represents this short *a*; and *-tt-* represents *-ṭ-* *māna* (*mányā*) the nape of the neck ; *jib(h)a* (*jihvā*) the tongue ;

tāna (*tṛṣṇā*) thirst, etc; *jāṁga* (*jaṅghā*) the thigh; *lāja* (*lajjā*) shame.

§ 20 As in other NI-A. languages, Koṅkaṇī has kept the final vowel in all learned borrowings, with the exception of some *semi-tatsama* words in g. and gx.: *kalpanā* (quoted by Father Stephens, § 36), *māruti*, *dayā*, *śrī*, *nalinī*, etc. It will be clear from these examples that with the exception of Sk. words ending in *-a-* (masculine) and *-u-* (masc. fem. or neut.) the other words borrowed represent the unaltered final vowel. All MI-A. words ending in *u* and coming down to K. either as inherited or semi-ts. words, are masculine, and therefore end in *u*, as ins. gs. *mhōvu* (*mádhu* : *mahu*).

B. PENULTIMATE VOWELS.

§ 21. Since the Prakrit stage the penultimate vowel has generally been preserved in Koṅkaṇī as in other NI-A. languages. But as Koṅkaṇī has been principally a spoken language with very little literature, a secondary change has affected this vowel in certain cases, even in learned borrowings from Sanskrit or Prakrit (see § 22).

Examples:—α). for *-a-*: s. gs. *kapāṭa*. x. *kavaḍ* (*kapāṭa-*); s. gs. *phāttara* (*prastaráḥ*) stones, slabs, *māṁkaḍa* (*markáṭa-*) monkey, etc., It will be seen that the length of the vowel is liable to change, but not the quality. We find the short vowel also in such cases where it is derived from a short vowel followed by an original double or conjunct consonant: x *savat*, s. gs. *savati* (*sapátnī*) co-wife, x. *ālas* (*ālasya*) etc., Similarly the length is reduced in x. *kavaḍ* (*kapāṭa*), etc.

β) for *-i-* and *-u-*: nx. *bhikāriṇ* (*kāriṇī*), and in ts. s. *kaṭhīṇa*, nx. *kaṭhīṇ* etc.; gx. *mānus*, *monus* (*manuṣya-*) man; s. gs. *lasūṇa*, x. gx. nx. *losuṇ* (*laśuna-*) garlic; s. gs. *rākkūḍa*, x. gx. *rākuḍ* (*lakuṭa-*) wood, firewood, faggot, etc.

§ 22. Exceptions:—In certain dialects, as a subsidiary change, the Sk. and Pk. penultimate is slurred over in pronunciation, with the result that in the existing forms it is completely lost. Corresponding to nx. *bhikrārīṇ* there is also the form nx. *bhikārṇ* and gx. *bhikārṇ* or *bikārn* and s. gx. *bhikārṇi* (*kāriṇī*);

in nx. and gx. the penultimate has been slurred over completely, whereas in s. gs. it is lost but the final vowel is preserved. This tendency is seen even in tat-sama (ts.) words : Sk. *nalinī* > s. gs. *nalni* or *nanni* (through assimilation), Sk. *māruti* > s. *mārtī* or *māruti* (with accent).

§ 23. The penultimate syllable of MI-A. has developed into the final vowel in Koṅkaṇī as in Marāṭhī (see *La langue marathe*, §§ 44 ff.); (i) either the penultimate was separated from the final vowel by a double consonant, in which case the final MI-A. vowel was lost as in g. gx. nx. *hāth* (Sk. *hásta-* : Pk. *hattha-*, but s. gs. *hātu*) hand, or (ii) the penultimate and final vowels came into contact due to an early loss of a single intervocalic consonant and coalesced in the NI-A. stage. The first case holds good for the northern dialects only (as g., gx., nx. etc.) and the second for all. As pointed out above (§ 17 ff.) s., gs. and to some extent x. and o. preserve the final MI-A. vowel in case (i).

§ 24. In a certain number of polysyllabic words the penultimate vowel has undergone changes of quality which are only proper to the prepenultimate unaccented vowels : s. gs. *nārlu* (for * *nāralu*), x. nx. *nārl*, gx. nx. *nārel* (*nārikela-*) cocoanut; s. gs. *nisaṇi*, x. *nisaṇ*, nx. gx. x. *nisoṇ* (*niḥ-śreṇi-*) ladder, escalator; s. gs. *kuṁkaḍ*, gx. nx. *kuṁkoṛ* (*kukkuṭá-*) fowl ; s. gs. *haladi*, gx. *olod* (*haridrā*) turmeric , g. *huṁdir*, nx. *uṁdīr* (but fem. *uṁdurli*) beside s. gs. *uṁduru* (*uṁdura-*), etc. Some of these variants may be explained by the principle of assimilation or dissimilation, but it is difficult to account for all these variants. For this discolouration of the penultimate in dissyllabic words see § 29b.

C. PREPENULTIMATE VOWELS.

I. In the Initial Syllable.

§ 25. In general the initial syllable in Koṅkaṇī bears the accent, and this, therefore, is the least affected of all vowel sounds. We have to consider several cases here separately in order to evaluate the general treatment in the different dialects treated here , these are a) conservation of the etymological quantity, i. e., (i) short vowel of K. < short of MI-A. and (ii) long vowel of K. < long of MI-A., irrespective of the nature

of the syllable, whether closed or open; and β) nonconservation of this quantity, i. e., (i) long vowels of K. ∠ short of MI-A. a) regularly in closed syllable, and b) sporadically elsewhere, and (ii) short vowel of K. ∠ long of MI-A.

§ 26. α): (i). *a* ∠ *a*: s. gs. *kaḍu* (*kaṭu*-) bitter; *kaḍo* essence, *kaḍaytā* boils, *kaḍayillẽ* gruel (*kvath*-); kaṇu (*káṇa*-) grain *kalaśi* sacred vessel used in divine service, *kaḷso* pitcher (*kaláśa*-); *kaḷo* (*kaḷā*) bud; *kaḷt* (*kalá*-) knows; *khavo* (Deś. *khavao*) shoulder; *aḍ-khaḷtā* (*skhal*-) hinders; *khai* (Sk. *kasmin*: Ap. *kahiṁ*) where; *kharḍu* (*khára*-) rough; *khaḷu* (*khála*-) starch or any liquid extract; *garmi* (*gharmá*-) hot, heat; *gaḷo* (*gala*-) throat; *ghaḍtā* (*ghaṭ*-) happens; *ghaḍi* (*ghaṭi*-) a moment; *ghara* (Sk. *gṛhá*-: Pa. Pk. *ghara*-) house; *ˇaḍtā* (Pk. *caḍ*-) climbs, rises; *čaṇo* (*caṇaka*-) horse-gram; *cartā* (*car*-) grazes; *čaltā* (*cal*-) moves, continues; *čarma* (semi-ts. *cárman*-) hide; *ǰaḍa* (*jaḍa*-) heavy; *ǰaṇa* (*jána*-) person; *ǰro* (*jvara*-) fever; *ǰaḷū* (*jalaukā*) leech; *ǰaḷtā* (*jval*-) burns; *ǰhaḍi* (Deś. *jhaḍī*) fine rain; *ǰhartā* (*kṣar*-) wastes; *ǰhaḷkatā* (*jval*-) lightens, shines; *taṭṭe* (**taṣṭa*-: cf. Avesta *tašta*-) a small glass or metal vessel; *tarno* (*táruṇa*-) young; *tavo* (*tapaka*-) roasting pan; *taḷẽ* (* *taḍaga*-) pond, lake; *taḷtā* (Deś. *tal*-) fries; *tavśẽ* (*trapuṣa*-) a vegetable; *thãi* (Sk. *tasmin*: Ap. *tahī*) there; *tharthartā* (*tharatharāyate*) trembles; *daṁḍu* (*daṇḍá*-) fine; *dasami* (*daśamī*) the tenth day; *dasro* (*daśaharā*) the tenth day of the light fortnight of the month of *Āśvina*, Dusserah; *daḷtā* (*dal*-) grinds; *dhãi* (Sk. *dádhi*-: Pk. *dahiṁ* curds); *dhartā* (*dhar*-) holds; *dhaskatā* (Deś. *dhasakka*-) trembles; *navẽ* (*navaka*-) new; *naḷi* (*nalikā*) tube; *naḷu* (*nala*-) pipe; *nãi* (*na-hi*) no, *naṇada* (*nánāndā*) husband's sister; *naṁtara* (*anantarám*) after; *nhãi* (*nadī*) river; *paṁčāvanna* (Deś. *pañcāvaṇṇā*) fiftyfive; *paḍtā* (*pat*-) falls; *paḍḍulu* (*paṭola*-) a vegetable; *paṇasu* (*panasa*-) jack-fruit; *paṇtu* (*pranaptṛ*-) grand-son; *patri* (*patrikā*) the leaf of Laurus Cassia; *paṁˇami* (*pañcamī*) the fifth day of a lunar fortnight; *paṁdrā* (*páñcadaśa*-) fifteen, *pannāsa* (*pañcāśát*) fifty; *palaṁgpōsu* (*paryanka*-) bed-spread; *paḷayatā* (*pralokayati*) sees; *paḷtā* (*palāyate*) flies; *phaḷa* (*phála*-) fruit; *phaḷẽ* (*phalaka*-) plank; *phaḷāru* (*phalāhāra*-) light refreshments; *baḍbaḍtā* (Deś. *baḍabaḍai*) babbles; *barẽ* (**baraka*-) goods; *baḷẽ* (* *balaya*-) bracelet; *bastā* (*upaviśati*) sits; *bhaiṇi* (*bhaginī*) sister; *bhartā* (*bhar*-) fills; *bhaṣṭa* (semi-ts. *bhraṣṭa*-) polluted; *maḍẽ* (*mṛtakam*) corpse; *martā* (*mar*-) dies:

maśi (*masi-*) lamp-black ; ***masṇē*** (*śamaśānam*) place of cremation, crematorium ; ***mhaśi*** (*máhiṣī*) buffalo ; *mhaṇtā* (*bhan-*) says ; ***ragata*** (***rakta-***) blood ; *raḍtā* (*raṭ-*) cries ; *raṇṇē* crying ; ***rathnomi*** (***ratha-navamī***) a festival day ; ***rassu*** (*rása-*) essence , *raśi* (*rasikā* or *rasyam*) pus ; ***laddi*** (Deś. *laddiā*) horse dung ; ***lasūṇa*** (*laśuna-*) garlic ; ***vaṭhāṇa*** (***upasthāna-***) residence : ***vaḍu*** (*vaṭa-*) bunyan ; *vāḷbatā* (*avalamb-*) hanging resolutely ; *vaḍi* (Deś. *vaḍī*) a savoury ; *vari* (*upári*) above ; *varasa* (*varṣá-*) year ; *vaḷē* (***valaya-***) a half of a cocoanut ; *vaḷi* (*vallī*) a cover , *vaččūka* (+Pk. *vacca-*) to go ; *vhartā* (***apahar-***) takes ; *vhardīka* (***vadhū-vara-***) marriage ; ***śaṁbhari***[1] (*śatá-*) hundred ; *śanvāru* (*śani-*) Saturday ; ***saru*** (*sará-*) garland ; *sarā* (*sar-*) moves ; semi-ts. : ***sajjanu*** (*sajjana-*) quiet person ; ***saglo*** (*sakala-*) whole ; ***sakāḷī*** (*sakalya-*) at dawn, in the morning ; ***satrā*** (***saptadaśa-***) seventeen and in cmpds. *satte*° or *sattā-*° (***saptá-***) : ***savti*** (***sapátnī-***) ; ***savāi*** (***sapāda-***) a quarter above ; *haṇu* (*hánu-*) *jaw* ; *hatyāra* (Deś *hatthiyāra-*) 'instrument ; ***hapto*** (lw. Pers. through Av. *hapta*, Sk. *saptá-*) a week : *harḍo* (***harītakī***) myrobalan ; *haryē* (*hári-*) green, unripe, etc.

g. *ghar* (*gṛhá-*) ; *parkī* (*pára-*) ; ***mhaṇṇī*** (*bhaṇ-*) ; ***marāṭhī*** (***marahaṭṭa-***) ; ***saglī*** (*sakala-*) ***ajūn*** (Pa. *ajjuṇha*) ; etc.

(ii). *ā>ā*: s. gs. *kāṇso* (*kāṇá-*) squint-eyed ; *kāylo* (*kāka-*) a crow ; *kāsē* (*kāṁsya-*) brass ; *kāḷo* (*kāla-*) black ; *khāṇa*, *khāttā* (*khād-*) eats ; *khāru* (*kṣāra-*) saltish ; *gāyi* (MI-A. *gāvī*) a cow ; *gāvu* (***grāma-***) village ; ***ghāṇi*** (*ghrāṇa-*) smell ; ***ghāri*** (Deś. *ghāriā*) a fried savoury ; *ghāyu*, *ghāvu* (*ghāta-*) a wound ; *ghāsu* (***grāsa-*** or from *ghas-*) a mouthful ; *čāḷa* (*śālā*) tenement ; *jāyi* (*jātī-*) jasmine ; *jāṇtā* (*jānāti*) knows ; *jāvayi* (*jāmātṛ-*) son-in-law ; *jāgi* (*jāgrat-*) awake ; *jāḷi* (*jāla-*) a sieve ; *jhāḍa* (Deś. *jhāṭa-*) shrub ; *ṭhāṇa* (*sthāna-*) camp ; *tāṁbē* copper, *tāmṭi* copper-smith : *tāṁbḍē* (*tāmrá-*) red ; *tāḷo* (*tālu-*) throat, voice ; *dārvaṭē* (*dvāra-*) porch ; *nāva* (*nāman-*) name ; *nārlu* (*nārikela-*) cocoanut) *nhāṇa* (*snāna-*) bath ; *pāgāru* (*prākāra-*) fortification : *pāuṇ-* (*pādona-*) a quarter less ; *pāyu* (*pāda-*) foot ; *pāvu* (*pāda-*) a measure of weight ; *pāvtā* (*prāp-*) reaches ; *pāvsu* (*prāvṛṣa-*) rain ; *bāmmūṇu* (*brāhmaṇa-*) husband ; *bāyla* (*bhāryā>bhāirā > * bhāilā*) wife : *bārā* (*dvādaśa* : Ap. *bāraha*) twelve ; *bhāṇa* (*bhāṇḍa-*) a large vessel ; *bhāira* (*bāhira-*) out-seid ; *bhāvu* (*bhrātṛ-*) brother ; *bhāvaja* (*bhrātur-jāyā*) brother's wife ; *mājjara* (*mārjāra-*) a cat ; ***māvḷo*** (*mātula-*) maternal uncle : *māsa* (*māṁsá-*) meat ;—in the case of *māajjra* and *māsa* we cannot say whether they are directly

[1] Through **śeṁbhari.*

connected with PI-A. forms ; it is possible that they may be more reasonably treated under *b*) : (i) a.— *rāṇi* (*rājñī*) a queen ; *rāyu* *rājan-*) a king *rāvlār* (*rājakula-* + *āgāra-*) a palace ; *lāytā* (*lagayati*) touches : *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva ; *rāḍi*, *vāḍo* (*vāṭa-*) habitude, habitation : *vākarṇa* (*vyākaraṇa-*) dictation : *vāṇi* (*vāṇijá-*) a Bunia ; *vārē* (*vāta-*) breeze ; *sāḍi* or *sāḍe-* (*sārdha-*) a half over; *sāvli* (*chāyā*) shadow ; *hārḍi* (*hārda-*) astride, on the heart ; *hāso* (*hāsa-*) a laugh, etc.

g. *Jālī* (*jātá*) : *jāllumk* (*jānāti*) : *bhās* (*bhāṣā*) : *āḍlo* (*ādi-*) *mārmk* (*mār-*) : *sālo* (*śālāḥ*), etc.

β) : (i) a.— *ā*∠*a* in heavy syllable : *āppaṇa* (MI-A. inflected form *appaṇo*∠Sk. *ātmán-*) oneself : *kājjaḷa*, x. nx. gx. *kājal* (*kajjala-*) unguent : *kātri* (*kartarī*) scissors : *kānu* (*kárṇa-*) ear ; *kāpūru* (*karpūra-*) camphor : *kāsavu* (*kacchapa-*) tortoise : *khākko*, x. *kāk*, nx. gx. *khāk* (*kákṣa-*) armpit : *khāṁdu*, x. nx. gx. g. *khāṁd* (*skandhá-*) shoulder : *khāṁbo* (*skambhá-*) pillar : *gāḍḍava*, x. *gāḍāū* gx. *gāḍū*, nx. *gāḍhū* (*gardhabá-*) ass ; *gāṁṭi*, x. *gāṁṭ*, etc. (*granthí-*) knot : *ghāṁṭa*, x. gx. nx. g *ghāṁṭ* (*ghaṇṭā*) bell ; *ghāstā* (*gharṣ-*) polishes, rubs ; *cāka* (*cakrá-*) wheel, slice : *cāṁdaṇē* (*candrikā-*) moonlight ; *cāblā* (*carv-*) bites : *cāṁḍē* (*cárman-*) hide : *jāṁga* (*jáṅghā*) thigh : *jāṁboi* (*jṛmbhā*) yawn ; *tāka* (*takra-*) buttermilk : *nāgḍo* (*nagná-*) naked : *nāṁcūka* (*nṛtyati*) to dance : *nāslā* (*náśyati*) is spoiled or destroyed ; *nāttu*, *nāti*, x. nx. gx. g. *nātu* (*náptṛ-*) grand-son or grand-daughter ; *pāku* (*pakvá-*) boiled sugar ; *pāka* (*pakṣá-*) wing ; *pākli* (*pákṣman-*) lid ; *phāṭi*, x. nx. gx. g. *phāṭ*, gx. *pāṭ* (*pṛṣṭhá-*) back : *phāttara*, g. gx. *phātár* (*prastará-*) stone, slab ; *bāṁdūka* (*bandh-*) to tie ; *bhāgtā* (*bhagna-*) looses weight, wastes ; *bhāj-tā* (*bhrajj-*) roasts ; *bhāta* (*bhaktá-*) rice : *māgtā* (*mārg-*: MI-A. *magg-*) begs, seeks : *mātti*, x. gx. nx. g. *māti* (*mṛttikā*) mud ; *māttē*, x. nx. gx. *mātē* (*mastaka-*) head, scalp ; *māna* (*manyā*) nape of the neck ; *rāktā* (*rakṣ-*) protects, guards ; *rājju*, x. nx. gx. *rāju* (*rájju-*) rope ; *rāna* (*áraṇya-* : MI-A. *raṇṇa-*) wood ; *rābtā* (cf. *rambh-*) stays, remains ; *lāgtā* (*lagyate*) touches ; *lāja* (*lajjā*) shame : *vāṁkḍē* (*vakrá-*) crooked ; *vāḍi* (*vṛddhi-*) increase, growth ; *vāḍ-tā* (*várdhate*) grows ; *vāti* (*vṛtti-*, *vartikā*) wick ; *vāso* (*vaṁśá-*) bamboo ; *vāsrū* (*vatsá-*) young (of cows, etc.) ; *sāṁja* (*sandhyā*) dusk ; *sāta* (*saptá-*) seven ; *sāttē* (*chatra-*) umbrella, sunshade ; *hāḍa* (*haḍḍa-*) bone ; *hāltā* (Deś. *hall-*) moves.

b.) *ā*∠*a* in open syllable sporadically:— gx. *ānbāvārti* (*anubhava–*); *ādik* (*adhika–*: gx. *odhik, odik*); *āpurto* (*ápūrta–*); *āpurbāi* (*apūrvá–*), etc.—s. gs. *pāḍvo* (*pratipád–*) x. *āvastā* (*avasthā*); gx. *āukās* (*avakāśa–*).

(ii) *a*∠*ā* : a) generally when the syllable in K. is closed : S. *vajjẽ* (*vāhya–*);

b) sporadically in open syllable : s gs. *khasu* (*kāsa–*); c. sv. *avaḷ* (*āmalaka–*)

§ 27. The treatment of *i* and *u* in the initial syllable differs from that of *a* in that they are always short in polysyllabic words and always long in dissyllabic words, irrespective of the original nature of the syllable, whether light or heavy; but when the syllable in Koṅkaṇī is heavy it loses its length in dissyllabic words. Thus we may formulate the general rule that the penultimate vowel in dissyllabic words is always long; in the case of *a* which is pronounced as a saṁvṛta in the southern dialects, there are two lengths not indicated in writing, but always understood in pronunciation; e. g. in the word *mana* the first *a* is double the second, but in the inflected form *manāka* the first and final are short. Examples :—

a). *i–*: *jīvu* (*jīvā–*) life, but *jiv*ᵃ*sī* ; *jik*ᵃ*tā* wins, but *jīka* win thou ; *pīṭa* (*piṣṭa–*) but *piṭṭi* ; *pīḷu* (*pīḍ–*) twist, but *piḷ*ᵃ*tā*, etc.

b). *u–*: *dhūra* (*dūrá–*) far, but *dhuvoru* (*dhūmá–*) smoke; *pūrā* (*pūra–*) all, but *pur*ᵃ*tā* (*pūrita–*) fills, etc.

In all the above cases a regular law governs the alternation of the long and short vowels in Morphology.

§ 28. In the case of *e* and *o* they are both long or both short, depending upon whether the following vowel is *i*, *u* or not; secondly when PI-A. *e* or *o* occurs in the initial syllable of dissyllabic words it is always long, e. g. *ēka, ēku, ēki* (*eka–*); but when this *e* or *o* comes through PI-A. *-aya-* or *-ava-* the rule governing the length is the first one; thus *meṇa* (**mayaṇa–*) and *koṇa* (*kavaṇa–*). Although for the sake of convenience we have adopted *e*, *ē*, *o*, *ō* in orthography to represent the short and long vowels they differ in the tongue position in pronunciation; for the correct value of these phonemes see my *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, §§ 36, 38. Even here, the value of *e* in *meṇa* and *meṇācẽ* is variable, the first

being twice as long as the second; similarly in *koṇa* and *koṇālẽ* the first *o* is the lengthened variety of the second.

§ 29. Exceptions: In spite of this general tendency of preserving the vowel in the initial syllable, there are some inexplicable exceptions:—

a): in polysyllabic words:— *uṁgṭo* (*aṅgúṣṭha-*); *vari* (*upári*), etc.

b): in dissyllabic words: s. gs. etc. *pikṭā* (*pakvá-*), but *pāṁku* with differentiation in meaning.

II. In the Non-initial Syllable.

§ 30. In the interior of a word *i* and *u*, both short and long, lose their proper articulation [1] and become confounded with *a*, and so treated in the rhythmic scheme of a word. Examples:—

i :— nx. *āgṭī* (*agní-*) brazier; s. gs. *parmaḷa* (*parimala-*) scent; *pāḍvo* (*pratipád-*) first day of the lunar fortnight; gx. x. *pākrū* (*pakṣirūpa-*) bird-like, bird, *vikraytā* (*viṣkir-*) drops, etc.

ī :— This is first reduced to *i*, and if retained at all, is always short; e. g. [*joṣi*] (*jyotiṣ-*) astrologer.

u :— s. gs. *āpaḍtā* (*āspṛṣṭa-* 7 *apputtha*) touches; *uṁgṭo* (*aṅgúṣṭha-*) thumb; *ulṭo* (*ulluṭhati*) reverse; *gurguru* (for *guru-guru-*) gurgling noise; *tarno* (*táruṇa-*) young, *puraitu* (*puróhita-*7 *purŭhita-*, see under *o*:—) a priest; *suṭ-suṭi* (for *suṭu-suṭi*) active, etc.

ū:— *vhákkala* (*vadhū-kula-*) a bride, etc.

e:— *uḍtā* (*uḍḍayate* : MI-A. *uḍḍei*) jumps;

o:— s. gs. *āṁgso* (*aṅgoñchaḥ* : MI-A. **aṁgoccha-*, *aṁguccha-*) a towel; *karṭi* (*karoṭi-*) cocoanut shell; *aḷṇī*, *aḷḷī* (*alavaṇa-*: [MI-A] *aloṇia-*) insipid, without salt, etc.

§ 31. *ā* in the interior of a word:

a): is reduced in: s. gs. *ārti* (*ārātrikā*) lights waved before the image of god; nx. *āsḍi* (Pa. *asātikā*) eye brows; *kaḍhai* (*kaṭāha-*) a big vessel; *gavli* (*gopālá-*) cowherd; *párvo* (*párāvata-*) pigeon; *porno* (*paurāṇa-*: MI-A. *porāṇa-*) old, ancient, etc.

b): is preserved:

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[1] *La langue marathe*, § 50.

1° : in such cases where *ā* is the result of a contraction : *kāmāru* (*karmakāra-*) black-smith ; *c̄āmāru* (*carmakāra-*) dealer in hides ; *divāḷi* (*dīpāvali-*) the season of lights, etc.

2° : in some morphemes : s. *nid-kāraytā*, *nidāytā* puts to sleep (*-āya-* of causative) ; many examples of this *-āya-* suffix may be quoted from all the different dialects.

3° : in compound words : s. gs. *madrāti* (*mádhya*-and *rā́tri-*) midnight.

D. Values of Koṅkaṇī *a*.

§ 32. Before studying the behaviour of MI-A. vowels in contact in the development of Koṅkaṇī, as well as the principle of labialisation and of contraction, it is very necessary to study thoroughly that most intriguing of all vowels—the neutral vowel *a*—which assumes different values in the different dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

§ 33. PI-A. *a* descended from Indo-European (I-E) short **a*, **e*, **o*, and the nasal sonants. But as early as the Vedic stage it did not correspond to the short of PI-A. *ā* ; it had a closer pronunciation than that of short *a*. On this account a distinction had already been made between the *saṁvṛta* and *vivṛta* pronunciation of the same symbol. In his commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Patañjali says at the beginning of the Śivasūtra:— *a-kārasya vivṛtopadeśaḥ kartavyaḥ ; kiṁ prayojanam ? ā kāragrahaṇārthaḥ*, etc. The vivṛta *a* corresponds to the short of *ā*, which is also vivṛta, and for the purpose of *Savarṇagrahaṇa* this discussion is started ; further on he says:— " *naiva loke na ca vede a-kāro vivṛto' sti-*; *kas tarhi ? saṁvṛto yo ' sti sa bhaviṣyati.-*" No further proof is necessary than the final sūtra of Pāṇini to show that the only type of the *a*-phoneme was the closed variety. the open variety being found only in grammatical treatises for a theoretical discussion on *Savarṇagrahaṇa*. When we come to MI-A. we find that in general PI-A. vowels are preserved both in quality and quantity with a few exceptions only. The state of affairs is different in the case of NI-A. as we have already seen (§§ 30, 31). Vowels in accented syllables have preserved their charateristics while those in unaccented syllables have suffered very much. Already in Pāḷi

we find *pheggu* (*phalgú-*), *miñjā* (*majjā*); [1] etc. similarly in Prakrit we have *pikka* (*pakvá-*) *puḍhama*, (*prathamá-*) [2] etc. When I-A. *a* is compared with Dravidian *a*, we feel the difference between the *saṁvṛta* and *vivṛta* pronunciations; to a certain extent also when a European pronounces this I-A. phoneme, the vivṛta predominates over the saṁvṛta. But in the whole group of I-A. languages the close, neutral pronunciation is the general rule, with one big exception in the case of Bengali where this phoneme has developed a peculiar sound resembling *o* in English *hot*, but considerably higher than it and slightly lower than the cardinal vowel [ɔ] without any lip-rounding. [3] When we begin to study the dialects of Koṅkaṇī the problem of PI-A. and MI-A. *a* becomes insistent. The mass of material is bewildering and the descriptions of this sound rather confusing in the treatises of this language.

§ 34. In his *Elementos Gramaticais da Lingua Concani*, Canon José de S. Rita e Souza gives two symbols for Sk. a (अ): *A* - short, close; *a* - short, open. Regarding the pronunciation of these symbols he remarks: "this letter (अ) which is termed the central (or middle) vowel has nearly the sound of open *o*; open *a* or close *A* is bound up with all consonants (i. e. inherent in all consonants) in the Devanāgarī script," (p. 8, f. n. 2). At another place (p. 13, f. n.) he observes further :— " A difficulty exists still regarding the employment in writing of the central vowel (अ) *a* or *A*, and the diphthong *o* (ओ) whose sounds are confused in pronunciation." He also admits that this difficulty leads one to commit errors, and where *o* (ओ) is to be used *a* or *A* (अ) may be used or vice versa.

§ 35. Father Maffei, in his *Konkani Grammar* (p. 5) gives the following transliteration:— *ă*-short *a* (very often near to *ó*); *a* - common a (nearest approach to *u* in English *but* or the *a* in Latin *farō* as pronounced in Italy); *ó* - closed *o*; *ò* -open *o*; *o* - common *o*. The only thing worth noting about Father

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[1] Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, § 9.

[2] Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §§ 101, 104.

[3] S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Phonetics*, § 41, where the final lax vowel is represented by ò.

Maffei's transliteration is the division of the *a*–phoneme into four groups: *ǎ*, *ā*, *a*, *ḁ*, the last of which he calls the half *a*, which corresponds to a whispered vowel *a*, appearing only at the end of words.

§ 36. In his literary works written in Devanāgarī characters Mr. Valavlikar follows the following notation ; *a* (अ), *ā* (आ), *à* (अ॑) ; about this last *à* he says in the foot-note to his book ; " *Gōykārāčo Mumbaikār* " on the first page, that this sound is very near to short, open *o* (ऑ), in fact half way between *a* and *o*. This corresponds to the inverted signs used in Marāṭhī script to indicate the open English *e* and *o* sounds in borrowed words. This system has been generally adopted in all Koṅkaṇī writings printed in Devanāgarī script.

§ 37. In the second edition of Father Thomas Stephen's *Grammatica da Lingua Concani*, corrected and annotated by Cunha Rivara in 1857 (p. 164) Sk. *a* (अ) is represented by *ŏ*, *ā* (आ), by *a*, and (ऑ) by *o*. In the *Diccionario Portuguez–Concani*, edited by the same scholar in 1868, a slightly different transcription is used : Sk. अ is represented by " *a*, " (आ) by " a, " and (ऑ) by " o. " In the first transcription the exact values are shown ; according to this PI–A. and MI–A. *a* is developed into an *o*–phoneme, which is not exactly the same as the descendants of PI–A. or MI–A. *o*, *–ava–*, etc. In this connection we may compare a somewhat parallel development in Gujarati, where the *o*–phoneme has slightly different values according to its development from PI–A., MI–A. *o*, or PI–A., MI–A. *–ava–*, with a corresponding development of the *e*–phoneme.

§ 38. For the purpose of our study these systems will be sufficient, in as much as these are uniform and more exact than the others in constant use. We shall first consider the various examples in the different dialects, with reference to their true etymology from PI–A. and determine from a comparative study of all these examples the nature of the change, its extent and the possible explanation for such a change. It will be clear from the context that Father Maffei stands for x., Canon Jose de S. Rita e Souza and Cunha Rivara represent gx., Mgr. Dalgado nx., and Mr. Valavlikar g.

§ 39. g. —: (N. B. I shall use the symbol *à* for अं). *anpàt* (s. gs. *anpatya*) necessity ; *aṇbhàv* (*anu-bhava-*) experience , *aḍčàṇ* (s. gs. *aḍčaṇi*, gx. *āḍčAṇ*) difficulty, in sing., - pl. *aḍčaṇī* ; *āsà* (s. gs. *āssa*) is ; *àrth* (*àrtha-*) meaning ; *kàr* (s. gs. *kari*) do thou ; *khabàr* (s. gs. *khabbari*) news ; *kīḷàc* (s. gs. *kiḷaci*) shriek ; *kātàr* (*kartárī*) scissors ; *kàs* (s. gs. *kaśśi*) how ? ; *ghàṭṭ* (s. gs. *ghaṭṭi*) strong ; *čukāvàḷ* (*-āvali-*) erratum, but *čukāvaḷi* ; *čàḍ* (s. gs. *čaḍa*) much ; *jaḍ* (*jaḍa-*) heavy ; *tàr* (s. gs. *tari*) if ; *dhàr* (*dhar-*) hold ; *nisàṇ* (s. gs. *nisaṇi*) ladder ; *nitàḷ* (*-tala-* : s. gs. *nittaḷa*) ; *niścày* (*niścaya-*) determination ; *nivàḷ* (s. *nivaḷa*) strained liquid ; *najà* (s. gs. *naja*) no ! ; *prat* (*práti-*) copy , *saraspàt* (*sárasvatī*) ; *śàkt* (*śakt'-*) power ; *soḍvaṇ* (s. gs. *soḍvaṇi*) escape ; *sàrg* (*svargá-*) heaven ; *saṁvày* (M. *savay*) friendship, liking ; *samàj* (NI-A. *samaj-*, *samajh-*,) understanding; *sãvkàḷ* (s. gs. *saṁkvaḷi* or *saṁvkaḷi*) company ; examples may be multiplied without number. I shall quote a few also from Mr. Valavlikar's writings in Roman characters (where he uses the italicized *a* for this *a*) ; *iṣṭāgàt* (*-gata-*) friendship ; *bàràp* (s. gs. *barapa*) writing ; *sàkāḷī* (*sakalya-*) at dawn; *sàgḷē* (*sakala-*) all ; *pàràṁt* (*param+tu*) afterwards, but ; *bàgàr* (s. gs. *bagar*) without ; *phàḷ* (*phála-*) fruit, etc.

It will be clear from the examples quoted above that where the law of labialisation does not apply, we may formulate that in most words which do not end in *-i*, the penultimate *-a-* becomes *-à-*, and in verbal forms the final *-a-* becomes *-à* as in *najà*, *āsà*, etc. But there are many exceptions, e. g. *ghar* (*ghara-*), and *majkūr*. This vowel *-à-* is also lost in morphology : *bhūysāgàr* (*-sāgara-*), but *bhūysāgrā* (gen. form) ; in this function it is the same as the ordinary saṁvṛta *a*.

§ 40. gx.— (N. B. : for the italicised *a* I shall use *a*, and the *A* will remain as it is). ∝). Examples of *a* : *udàk* (*udaka-*) water ; *āṭhàu* (s. gs. *āṭhavu*, *āṭhōvu*) memory ; the prefixes : *àbhi-*, *àti-* etc. (really prepositions) ; *iṣṭàgAt* (cf. g. *iṣṭāgàt*) friend ; *ànAn* (s. gs. *aṁdaṇa*) Anona squamosa ; *àtrek* (*atīreká-*) excess ; *āydàn* (*āyátana-*) vessel ; *ànn* (*ánna-*) rice ; *āpàṇ* (*ātmán* : MI-A *appaṇo*) self ; *àrdo* (*ardhá-*) half ; *àṭhrā* (*aṣṭādaśa-*) eighteen ; *àṁtàskārn* (*antáḥ-karaṇa-*) heart ; *kāgàd* (s. gs. *kāgada*) paper ; *kàrm*

(*kármaṇ-*) act, deed; *kàḍu*[1] (*kaṭu-*) bitter; *kàḍsāṇ* bitterness; *kàlAy* (s. gs. *kalāyi*) zinc; *khàrdo* (*khára-*) waste; *kāpàḍ* (s. gs. *kāppaḍa*, Sk. *karpaṭa-*) cloth; *khàro* (Mar. *kharā*, s. gs. *kharo*) true; *ghàr* (*gṛhá-*: *ghara-*) house; *gàvāy* (H. *gavaiyyā* musician; *ghàrdār* (from *ghàr*) household, house and wife; *gàràǰ* (s. gs. *garaǰ*) necessity; *ghàḍàp* (*ghaṭa-*) happening; *ghàṭāy* (s. gs. *ghaṭṭāi*) strength; *gàrībpàṇ* (s. *garīb-paṇa*) poverty; *bàgàr* (s. *bagar*) without, unless; *čàli*[2] (s. *čalli*, gs. *celli*) girl; *čākár* (s. gs. *cākaru*) servant; *čàvecyālis* (*catuṣ-*) fortyfour; *čàuto* (*caturthá-*) fourth; *čàltālē* (*cal-*) was happening; *čàṇo* (*caṇaka-*) gram; *zāmbàḷ* (*-phala-*) a fruit; *zàṇ* (*jána-*) person; *zhàmp-* (*jhampa-*) jump; *tirfàḷ* (*triphala-*) a fruit or the tree bearing this fruit; *tàkli* (s. gs. (*takli*) brain, head; *thāpàṭ* (s. gs. *thāppaṭa*) slap; *tàrno* (*táruṇa-*) young; *dhàn* (*dhána-*) wealth, riches; *dhàvo* (*dhavá-*) white; *dhàr* (*dhar-*) hold; *nàv* (*nava-*) nine, *nàzo* (s. gs. *naǰǰo*) no!; *nàmàskār* (*namaskāra-*) salutation, greeting; *nidàuṁk* (s. gs. *nidatā nidetā*) to sleep; the suffix *-pàṇ* (*-pana-*); *pàṇAs* (*panasa-*) jack; *pàrdes* (*paradeśa-*) foreign land; *pàdvī* (*padavī*) station, position; *pfàḷ* (*phála-*) fruit; *pàilo* (s. gs. *pailo*) first; *pàḷevuṁk* (*paḷàytā*) to see; *pàrtàlo* (s. *partalo*, M. *paratlā*) returned; *pàḍlo* (*pat-*) fell; *fàkàt* (s. *phaktā-*) entirely; *bàrē* (s. *barē*, M. *barā*) good; *bàśi*[3] (s. gs. *baśi*, NI-A. *basī*) plate; *bàḷ* (*bala-*) strength; *bàràuṁk* (*bari*-Can.) to write; *bhàjàn* (*bhajana-*) devotion; *bàglēk* (s. gs. *baglēka*, NI-A. *bagal*) aside; *bhàṁvtAṇīm* (*bhram-*); *māzàr* (*marjāra-*) a cat; *mànis*[4] (*manuṣyá-*) man; *màḍkē* (s. *maḍkē*) an earthern vessel; *màḷàb* (s. gs. c. *maḷapa*) sky; *màḷṇī* (*mal-*) kneading; *màǰo* (s. *maǰǰo*) mine; *màdē* (*madhya-*) amid; *mhàṇtā* (s. gs. *mhaṇ-*) says; *mhāràg* (s. gs. *mhāraga*) dear; *ràčṇār* (*rac-*) creater; *ràsāḷ* (**rasālu-*) juicy; *ràḍṇē* (*ráṭ-*) cry; s. gs. *làḍāy* (s. gs. *làḍāi*) fight; *lokhàṇ* (*lohakhaṇḍa-*) iron; *vàir* (*upari*) above; *vàč* (MI-A. *vacca-*) go; *sàdāṁč* (*sádā*) always, everyday; *śākàr* (*śarkarā*) sugar; *sàṁsār* (*saṁsāra-*) worldly life; *sàmest* (*sámasta-*) all; *sàṁtāp* (*santāpa-*) regret; *sàvāy* (*sapāda-*) a quarter above; *sà*

[1] The expected form is *kAḍu.*
[2] Should be *čAli.*
[3] The normally expected form is *bAśī.*
[4] v. l. for *mAnīs.*

(*ṣaṭ-*) six ; *sàkàl* (*sakala-*) every ; *hàjār* (s. gs. *hazāra*) a thousand ; *hàrśẽ* (s. gs. *harśẽ, herśẽ*) another time, etc.

β): Examples of *A*.— *āvAy* (s. gs. *āvai*) mother ; *ānAṁd* (*ānandá-*) happiness ; *āltAḍī* (*-taṭa-*) on this shore ; *igArji* (s. gs. *igarji*) church ; *ugAḍtālõ* (s. gs. *ughaḍtā*) opening ; *izAt* (*izzat*) respect ; *kẽsAr* (*keśara-*) saffron ; *kAṣṭī* (*kaṣṭin-*) sufferer ; *kAruṁk* (*kar-*) to do ; *kAdī̃* (M. *kadhī*) *gAṁv* (s. gs. *gavu*) wheet ; the suffix *-gAt* (*-gati-*) ; *ghāgAr* (*ghaggara-*) ; *ghAḍiyāl* (*ghaṭī-*) a clock ; *čAvīs* (*catur-*) twentyfour ; *jhAr* (*kṣar-*) cascade ; *jhArī* fountain ; *zAr* (*jvara-*) fever ; *jāgAr* (*jāgara-*) wakefulness ; *zàbAr* (besides *zàbàr*, see above) ; *čAḍ* (s. gs. *čaḍa*) much ; *ṭhAkī* (cf. NI-A. *ṭhakk-*) injurious ; *nAy* (*navatí-*) ninety ; *tikAḍčo* (*-kaḍe-*) of that side ; *tArī* (but *tàr*) even ; *tArkuṁk* (*tark-*) (*tark-*) to wrangle ; *dhukAr* (*sūkara-*) pig ; *DudsāgAr* (*-sāgara-*) ; *dhAṁy* (*dádhi-*) curds ; *nāṃgAr* (s. *nāmgara*) anchor ; *nAd* (*nadī́*) river ; *nhAṃy* river ; *pàṇAs* (*panasa-*) jack ; *pàrvAt* (*parvata-*) mountain: *bhArtī* (s. *bharti*, Sk. *bhar-*) full tide, *bArī* (but *bàro*) good ; *bhitAr* (s. *bhittari*) inside ; *bAttīs* (s. gs. *battīsa*) thirtytwo ; *bhAv* (*bahu-*) much ; *mhārAg* (s. *mhāragu, mhāragi*) dear, costly ; *lAgn* (*lagná-*) time ; juncture ; suffixes *-vAṁt* (*-vant-*), *vAt* (*-vatī-*) ; *vAst* (*vastu-*) thing ; *sAr* (*sadṛ́kṣa-*) comparable ; *śẽbhAr* (s. *śaṁbhari*) a hundred ; *sàrAp* (*sarpá-*) snake ; *sàtAr* (*saptatí-* : Ap. *sattari*) seventy ; *sàm Arpūṁk* (*samarp-*) to offer ; *hikAḍčo* (*-kaḍe-*) of this side.

§ 41. Two things are clear from the examples cited above : PI-A. and MI-A. *a* has divided itself into two connected phonemes *à* and *A*, and PI-A. *ā* has come down as *ā* in accented syllables in gx. in such places where it is retained in the other dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

§ 42. Alternation of *à* and *A* in gx. — The play of these two vowels in morphology may be differentiated into two categories : gender and number.

(*To be continued*)

"THE *MAṆḌANA-SUREŚVARA* EQUATION IN THE HISTORY OF ADVAITA" †

BY

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Maṇḍanamiśra is the author of the Brahmasiddhi. In the colophons of this and other works written by him and in the philosophical works of other authors who refer to him, he is described as Ācārya Maṇḍanamiśra, Śrīman Maṇḍanamiśra, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Maṇḍanamiśra, Ārya-Maṇḍana and Maṇḍana. In none of these works, Maṇḍana-miśra is mentioned as a disciple of *Kumārilabhaṭṭa*, otherewise known as *Bhaṭṭapāda*, the renowned Vārtikakāra of Karma-mīmāṁsā, or as a disciple of *Śrī Bhagavatpāda-Śaṁkara*, the renowned Ācārya of the Advaita school of Vedānta, or as identical with Sureśvarācārya, the renowned Vārtikakāra of Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya on the Taittirīya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads, who is referred to in some works under the name of Viśvarūpācārya[1] and who was one of the four famous, direct Saṁnyāsin-disciples of Śaṁkara. There is, however, an old and generally accepted tradition that Maṇḍana was one of the eminent philosophical writers who received instruction from Kumārilabhaṭṭa, such as *Prabhākara* and *Bhaṭṭomvēka.* There is also a comparatively recent tradition, which supports the general belief that Maṇḍanamiśra was one of the disciples of Kumārilabhaṭṭa and equates him with Surēśvarācārya. Whether Maṇḍanamiśra, the author of the Brahmasiddhi, is identical with Sureśvarācārya, the author of the Naiṣkārmyasiddhi and the Vārtikas on the Bṛhadāraṇyakabhāṣya and the Taittirīyabhāṣya is the question to be considered here.

This question relating to the *Maṇḍana-Sūreśvara* equation is of as great importance in the evolution of the Advaita system, as in the history of Advaita literature. In my youth, when I

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1 See Vivar-p-s-V. S. S. page 92; B. Va-Part II-p-640, verse-1931 quoted under the name of *Viśvarūpācārya.* Also see Parāśaramādhavīya B. S. P. S. Vol. I-part I, P. 57; Bṛhād-Vā-part 1-p. 34, verse 97 quoted under the name of *Viśarūpācārya.*

was studying the recognised classics of Advaita literature under my Ācārya-the late *Śrī Brahmendra Sarasvatī*, according to the traditional method, as also in the earlier years of my Professorial career, I took the *Maṇḍana-Surēśvara* equation for granted, as several other scholars did then and do even to-day. My belief in this equation received its first shock, when I was studying Maṇḍanamiśra's Brahmasiddhi in manuscript in the years 1921-22, with a view to bringing out a critical edition of the work. In the year 1923, to the April issue of the Royal Asiatic Society Journal of Great Britain and Ireland, my esteemed friend and colleague-Professor M. Hiriyanna of Mysore, contributed a short article [1] on *Sureśvara and Maṇḍanamiśra*, in which he drew attention to three noteworthy points of doctrinal divergence between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara, which he gathered from certain advaita works like the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka, the Laghucandrikā and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Vārtika; and these three doctrinal distinctions have reference to Maṇḍanamiśra's views regarding the locus of *Avidyā*, the *bhāvādvaita* and the special value of meditation (Upāsana) in transmuting the Brahman-knowledge arising from the *mahā-vākyas* into Brahman-realisation. Professor Hiriyanna referred also in this article to a tradition preserved at Shringeri and embodied in a poem called *Guru-vaṁśa-kāvya*, according to which Maṇḍana should be differentiated from Sureśvara. The least that may be said about the valuable evidence adduced by Professor Hiriyanna in that article is that it is sufficient to compel a careful investigation of the *Maṇḍana-Sureśvara* equation. A careful study of Maṇḍanamiśra's *Brahmasiddhi*, in comparison with his other known works, all of which are now available in print, and with the known works of Sureśvara and Śaṁkara and in the light of the works of Vācaspatimiśra, Vimuktātman, Prakāśātman, Ānandabodha, Prakaṭārthakāra, Citsukha, Amalānanda, Ānanadagiri, Vidyāraṇya, Madhusūdanasarasvatī, Brahmānanda-sarasvati and several others representing the Advaita system and a careful consideration of the references to Maṇḍana contained in certain important works of the Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Dvaitavedānta and other systems have made it possible to assemble here several data of overwhelming cumulative weight,

[1] J. R. A. S. 1923, April; and 1924 January.

which would be quite sufficient to kill the common belief in the *Maṇḍana–Sureśvara* equation and to exhibit Maṇḍana and Sureśvara as two different individuals, maintaining strikingly divergent views within the purview of advaitism. These data are set forth below.

1. Maṇḍana maintains the *sphōṭavāda and Śabdādvaita* of Bhartṛahari, in an elaborate manner, in his Sphōṭasiddhi[1] and easily reads it into the *Advaita-siddhānta* in his amplification of the word 'akṣaram' in the opening verse of the Brahmasiddhi. Maṇḍana's attitude towards Śabdādvaita is much more than favourable; it is respectful. But Śaṁkara completely differs from Maṇḍana in this respect and criticises and entirely discards the *sphōṭa doctrine* of Bhartṛhari. Surēśvara, who closely follows Śaṁkara, completely ignores the Sphōṭa–doctrine. While Maṇḍana maintains in his Brahmasiddhi[2] that the Upaniṣadic texts "Ōmiti Brahma, Ōmitīdam Sarvam" should be understood as establishing the identity of *Praṇava* with Brahman and as supporting the Śabdādvaita doctrine, Sureśvara, following Śaṁkara, interprets[3] the same text as teaching the meditation on *Praṇava* as *Brahman* and as merely commending *Praṇava.* Advaitins like Vimuktātman, who follow Surēśvara in many respects, assume an attitude, which is worse than adverse, is positively derisive, towards *Śabdādvaita.* In fact, Vimuktātman sneers at the *Śabdādvaita* as a travesty of advaita and places it on a par with *Jar–monism*[4] (ghaṭādvaita).

2. In his exposition of the nature of erroneous cognition, in the Brahmasiddhi[5] and Vibhramaviveka,[6] Maṇḍana gives a prominent and honoured place to the Bhāṭṭa theory of *viparīta-khyāti* or *anyathākhyāti*, which is the same as the Nyāya theory of *anyathākhyāti* with slight variation. He maintains that this

1 Sph. S-M. U. S, S. No. 6-1931-see verse 36 and the concluding portion of the commentary Gopālikā on that verse.

2 Bra-Sid-Part I-p. 1-.lines 8 to 20.

3 Tai–Vārt–pp. 31–32-verses 37 to 42.

4 I. S. G. O. S. LXV–p. 176. "तस्मादात्माद्वैतमेव ।मध्यात, न शब्दाद्वैतं घटाद्वैतं वेति सिद्धम् ।"

5 Bra. Sid–pp. 136 to 150-part I.

6 Vibhr–verse 46, 57, 62–M. L. J. P–1932.

theory is sound and when the nature of the object of erroneous cognition is examined, this theory has to be reduced inevitably to a form in which it becomes hardly distinguishable from the *anirvacanīyakhyāti*[1] of the advaitins. In Maṇḍana's opinion, the *anyathākhyāti* or *viparītakhyāti* of the Bhāṭṭas should, for all practical purposes, be accepted by the advaitins. It may be easily surmised, that Vācaspatimiśra, who follows Maṇḍana, in many details, in the exposition of the advaita doctrine, should necessarily have followed the latter very closely in his commentary on the Brahmasiddhi–Tattvasamīkṣā, in maintaining the soundness of *anyathākhyāti*; and this is perhaps the reason why people generally came to believe that Vācaspatimiśra was in favour of *anyathākhyāti*, though he was really anxious to establish the *anirvacanīyakhyāti* in his Bhāmatī, as observed by Amalānanda.[2] Sureśvara, on the other hand, has no good word to say about *anyathākhyāti* and refutes it in a cavalierly[3] manner.

3. In his Brahmasiddhi, Maṇḍana recognises two[4] kinds of nescience (avidyā) viz; non–apprehension (*agrahaṇa*) and misapprehension (*anyathāgrahaṇa*) and points out how the *akhyāti* doctrine of the Prābhākaras runs counter to the well–established distinction between the two kinds of nescience. Maṇḍana also utilises this distinction in explaining the purpose of meditation in his scheme of the attainment of the final liberating realisation of Brahman and considers meditation necessary for completely removing the second[5] variety of nescience and for converting the first indirect knowledge of Brahman (*parokṣajñāna*) into the direct Brahman–realisation (*Aparokṣa–Brahma–sākṣātkāra*). By the way, it may be noted here that Vācaspati also speaks of two[6] kinds of Avidyā in the opening verses of his Bhāmatī.

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1 Bra–Sid–p–9-lines 11 to 20 part I. Vibhr. VI–verses 35 and 36.

2 Kalpataru–N–S–P-1917–20. Page 24.

"स्वरूपेण मरीच्यम्भो मृषा वाचस्पतेर्मतम् ।
अन्यथाख्यातिरिष्टास्येत्यन्यथा जगृहुर्जना: ॥"

3 Bṛhad-Vār–Part II–p. 484 verses 275 to 278; and p. 524–verse 453.

4 Bra-Sid–p. 149–verse 167 and line 93–Part I.

5 Bra–Sid–p. 35–part I.

6 Bhāmatī verse i—"अनिर्वाच्यविद्याद्वितयसचिवस्य प्रभवतो विवर्ता यस्यैते वियदनिल-तेजोऽबवनय: ।"

Sureśvara scents danger in the recognition of two kinds of nescience, specifically refers[1] to Maṇḍana's view regarding *avidyādvaividhya* and argues against it by urging certain reasons.

4. Maṇḍana definitely argues in favour of the view that *Jīva* (the individual soul) should be regarded as the seat or the *locus*[2] (*Āśraya*) of nescience (*Avidyā*), which obscures the true nature of Brahman and thus has Brahman as its object (viṣaya). Sureśvara sets his face wholly against any kind of differentiation between āśraya and viṣaya of avidyā and maintains that Brahman itself is both[3] the *āśraya and viṣaya.* The disagreement between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara on this matter served as the basis of the two different views regarding the locus and object of nescience, which are associated in later advaitic tradition with what came to be known as *Vācaspati's school* and *Vivaraṇakāra's* (*Prakāśātman's*) school. By the way, it may be observed here that most of the distinctive features of the *Vācaspati-school* have their roots in Maṇḍana's views as set forth in the Brahmasiddhi and most of the distinctive features of the *Vivaraṇa-school* are derived from Sureśvara's views as set forth in the Vārtikas and the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi.

5. The Upaniṣadic texts like 'Tattvamasi' reveal the identity of *Brahman* with *Ātman* and give rise to the true knowledge of the *one absolute real.* The knowledge which arises from such texts, however, according to Maṇḍana, is indirect and mediate (*parokṣa*) and necessarily involves relation in some manner (*saṁsṛṣṭa-viṣaya*), like any other cognition arising from a valid verbal testimony (*śābdapramā*). Maṇḍana maintains[4] that such indirect knowledge of Brahman should pass through the furnace of meditation (*Upāsana*) before the detractive and recessive elements of relation and mediacy could be removed from it and before it could be refined into the pure, efficient and direct realisation of the Absolute Real (*Brahmavidyā or Brahmasākṣātkāra*). It is only this direct realisation which springs

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1 Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-p. 1065-verse 199.

2 Bra-Sid-pp. 10 and 11 Part I.

3 Naiṣ-pp. 105-106 Bṛhad Vār-Part I-pages 55 to 58 verses 175 to 182; Part II-pages 675 to 677 verses 1215 to 1227.

4 Bra-Sid-p. 35-lines 1 to 8, line 25; p. 134, p. 159 Lines 10 to 13-part I.

from meditation based upon the indirect knowledge arising from the Upaniṣadic texts, that is capable of bringing about liberation (*mukti*). Maṇḍana is thus seen to maintain what is known in advaitic literature as the doctrine of *prasaṁkhyāna*. Consistently with this view, Maṇḍana interprets the text[1] " विज्ञाय प्रज्ञां कुर्वीत " in his Brahmasiddhi. Vācaspati adopts Maṇḍana's views regarding the relation between *prasaṁkhyāna* and Brahmasākṣātkāra and Amalānanada[2] specifically ascribes this view to Vācaspati and says that Vācaspati understands the expression '*Scriptural* realisation' (Śāstradṛṣṭi), as used by Bādarāyaṇa, to mean exactly what Maṇḍana understands to be *Brahman–realisation* springing from *Prasaṁkhyāna*–the true knowledge which arises from meditation on the true import of the *mahāvākyas* (*Śāstrārthadhyānajā pramā*) and that this view is supported by Bādarāyaṇa in the Brahmasūtra[3] "*Api ca saṁrādhane pratyakṣānumānābhyām.*" It may be said, by the way, that this is one of the instances in which Vācaspati is made responsible by later advaitins for a view which was originally put forward by Maṇḍana and only revived and read into Śaṁkara's system at a later stage by Vācaspati among the commentators on Śaṁkara's Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. In his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi[4] and Vārtika,[5] Sureśvara severely criticises this view with an unmistakable animus that is characteristic of an avowed opponent and emphatically maintains the position that direct Brahman–realisation (*Brahmāparokṣajñāna*) springs from the Upaniṣadic Śabda–the *mahāvākyas*, and meditation, however useful it may be, is not the cause which effectuates the liberating realisation. He repudiates also the Nyāya view[6] that *Śabda* can generate

1 Bra–Sid–p 154–Part I.

2 Kalpataru–N–S. S. 1917p. 2!8.

" अपि संराधने सूत्राच्छास्त्रार्थध्यानजा प्रमा ।
शास्त्रदृष्टिर्मता तां तु वेत्ति वाचस्पतिः परम् ॥ "

3 Bra–Sū–3–2–24.

4 Naiṣ–p. 38–verse 1–67; pp. 159 to 162–verses III–88 to 93; pp. 175 to 177–verses III–123 to 126.

5 Bṛhad–Vār–part I–pp. 225 to 233 verses 818 to 849. Part III–pp. 1852 to 1878–verses 796 to 961.

6 Bṛhad–Vār–Part III–pp. 1852 to 1854–verses 799 to 803 and verse 810 et. seq.

only an indirect cognition having a relational content. Relying upon the well-known illustration [1] of the ten men, who counted only nine, each leaving out himself, and of the tenth among them, who was thus unable to realise himself as the tenth, actually realising his identity as the tenth directly from the statement "Thou art the tenth" which revealed his identity as the tenth, Sureśvara argues that *Śabda*, in certain special cases, is capable of producing an immediate cognition with a non-relational content. In this connection, in referring to Maṇḍana's view and similar views and refuting them, Sureśvara uses, in his Vārtika, sneering and ironical expressions, with reference to Maṇḍana and such of his contemporaries and predecessors as happened to agree with Maṇḍana and describes those thinkers as 'pedantic wiseacres' (*paṇḍitam-manyāḥ*), [2] 'profoundly conversant with recondite principles' (*gambhīranyāyavedinaḥ*), [3] 'complacent in their determination of the sense of the Veda' (*Vedārthaniścitāḥ*), [4] 'courageous and great Mīmāṁsakas' (mahāmīmāṁsakā dhīrāḥ) [5] In a similar context in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, Sureśvara sets forth and refutes the views of Brahmadatta and Maṇḍana, in respect of the causal relation between Brahman-realisation and the Upaniṣadic Śabda; and in this context, Sureśvara says that these philosophers take their stand haughtily on the strength of their own tradition and say what they say in this matter (*svasampradāyabalāvaṣṭambhādāhuḥ*).[6] It is clear from the context that the phrase-*svasampradāyabalāvaṣṭambhāt*-is intended to be applied to both of the views that are clubbed together in the same paragraph, as forming the subject of refutation in verse 67 of chapter I, in the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi. In order to understand clearly the bearing of these Sanskrit phrases as applied to Maṇḍana by Sureśvara, on the contrast between these two advaitins, it would be necessary to remember that Maṇḍana's exposition of

[1] Naiṣ-pp. 146 to 149-verses III-64 to 71 Bṛhad-Vār Part I pp. 64-65-verses 206 to 219.

[2] Bṛhad-Var.-Part III-p. 1852-verse 796, see also Ānandagiri's avatārikā to this verse "मण्डनादीनां तद्ग्राह्यमुत्थापयति अन्यस्त्विति ।"

[3] Bṛhad-Vār-part III-p. 1854-verse 810.

[4] Bṛhad-Vār-part III-p. 1864-verse 876.

[5] Bṛhad-Vār-part III-p. 1866-verse 891.

[6] Naiṣ-p. 38.

the advaita doctrine was based mainly on a pre-Śaṁkara phase of it, while Sureśvara's exposition of that doctrine was entirely dependent upon its Śaṁkara phase. The significance of the expression 'dhīrāḥ' as applied to Maṇḍana may be understood fully, if it is remembered that the spirit of philosophical accommodation which Maṇḍana exhibits towards the Naiyāyikas, in respect of the nature of the cognition arising from śabda and which his supporters and impartial critics would describe as the sweet reasonableness of a non-partisan advaitin, is derided by Sureśvara as amounting to philosophical cowardice. It is worthy of notice here that Madhusūdanasarasvatī, when he refers to Maṇḍana's view about the mediate character of the knowledge that arises from the Upaniṣadic śabda, frankly describes Maṇḍana and others who agree with him as ("*kecittārkikebhyo bibhyataḥ*")[1] 'philosophical cowards afraid of the *tārkikas*.

6. Maṇḍana's interpretation of the Īśāvāsya text[2] "vidyām cāvidyām ca........." is entirely different from Śaṁkara's interpretation of it as given in his *Īśāvāsya-bhāṣya*[3] or his *bhāṣya* on Gauḍapāda's Māṇḍūkyakārikās[4] and from Sureśvara's interpretation of it as given in the Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika[5]. Maṇḍana explains this *mantra* in two ways; in his first explanation[6] the first half is taken to refer to the association of *avidyā* and *vidyā* as the means and the end (*upāyopeyabhāvāt sahite*) and the second half states the fact that, when a person removes his *avidyā* by *avidyā*, his self-realisation follows; and in his second explanation,[7] the first half refers to the fact that *avidyā* never exists without *vidyā* and there is no difference in the meaning conveyed by the second half. According to Maṇḍana, the word *Mṛtyu* in the *mantra* means *avidyā*; the liberating knowledge,

1 Ved. Kalpa-S-Bh. T-No. 3-Benares 1920-p. 63-line 6.

2 īśā-11.

3 īśā-bhā-on 11 "अविद्यया कर्मणा अग्निहोत्रादिना, मृत्युं स्वाभाविकं कर्म ज्ञानं च मृत्युशब्द-वाच्यमुभयम्, तीर्त्वा अतिक्रम्य, विद्यया देवताज्ञानेन, अमृतं देवतात्मभावमश्नुते प्राप्नोति । तध्यमृत-मुच्यते यद्देवतात्मगमनम् ॥"

4 Ma-ka-3-25 and the Bhāṣya on it.

5 Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-pp. 779-780-verses 1764 to 1766.

6 Bra-Sid-p. 13-lines 7 to 11-Part I.

7 Bra-Sid-p. 13-lines 11 to 18-Part I.

which is called *avidyā*, is nothing but the ever-revealed, all-revealing and eternal consciousness, (which is identical with *Brahman* or Ātman); the appearances of *avidyā* are all dependent upon the eternal self-luminous light called *Brahman*; *avidyā* is ***non-ātman*** and has got a bad phase in the multifarious cognitions of difference and a good phase in the understanding of the truth from textual teachings (*śravaṇa*), the investigation of the truth in the light of reason (*manana*) and repeated contemplation upon the truth (*dhyānābhyāsa*); the bad phase of *avidyā* is the ***mṛtyu***, which is removed by the good phase of it consisting in ***śravaṇa***, *manana* and *dhyānābhyāsa*; and the knower of the truth thus remains what he has always really been – the eternal, free, self-luminous, Absolute. Maṇḍana quotes this mantra as a textual authority supporting his statement that the good phase of ***avidyā*** removes its bad phase and then passes away. Śaṁkara takes the word *avidyā* in this *mantra* to mean 'the scriptural rites like agnihotra', 'mṛtyu' in the sense of 'natural activities and knowledge' (*svābhāvikam karma jñānam ca*), 'vidyā' in the sense of 'the knowledge of the particular deity' (*devatājñāna*), and the resultant *amṛta* as amounting to 'becoming that particular deity' (*devatātmabhāva*). Sureśvara's interpretation of this ***mantra*** proceeds on entirely different lines. He is anxious that it should be so interpreted as not to give any handle to those vedāntins who advocate the combination of *karma* and *jñāna* in some manner (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*) as the means of liberation. He seems to scent some danger even in Śaṁkara's interpretation, for the reason that Śaṁkara is prepared to take the first half of the *mantra*, with the two *cakāras* and the word *saha*, in the natural sense of *samuccaya*, though the combination intended to be conveyed, according to Śaṁkara, is that of *devatājñāna* and *śāstrīyakarma* and not that of *Ātmajñāna* and *karma*. Maṇḍana's interpretation of this *mantra* is not accepted by Sureśvara, for the reason that, according to Maṇḍana, the *avidyā* that is the means of removing *avidyā* admits of being accommodated to the combination of *Ātmajñāna* with *karma* in a manner which would be unacceptable either to Śaṁkara or Sureśvara. As a result of this attitude, Sureśvara gives a highly laboured[1] interpretation of this mantra,

1 Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-p. 779-verses 1765 and 1766.

taking the words *vidyā* and *avidyā* in the first half in the sense of *śāstrīyakarma* and *svābhāvikakarma* and understanding the same words in the second half in an entirely different way, as denoting *Brahmajñāna* and *śāstrīyakarma* respectively, the word *mṛtyu* in the second half being taken to denote what the word *avidyā* in the first half stands for. He also wishes that the two *cakāras* and the word *saha* in the first half should be understood as not referring to *samuccaya* in any manner, but merely as amounting to a *co-mention*[1] of two rival factors, even that, not of any kind of *jñāna* and *karma* but of *two kinds of karma*. Thus, Sureśvara squeezes out of this *mantra* the sense that 'anyone who understands the contrast between the scriptural activities as the inhibitors (*nivartaka*) and natural activities as the inhibited (*nivartya*), attains Brahman-realisation and liberation in due course, after inhibiting the natural activities by scriptural activities'. None can miss here the striking contrast between Maṇḍana's interpretation of this *mantra* and Sureśvara's interpretation of it.

7. Maṇḍana's evaluation of *Karma* in relation to the liberating realisation of Brahman (*vidyā*) and his attitude towards the stage in religious life, which is called *saṁnyāsa* and is characterised by a complete renunciation of *karma*, exhibit certain features of striking contrast, when compared with the views of Śaṁkara and Surēśvara concerning the value of *karma* and *saṁnyāsa*. Maṇḍana notices, in his Brahmasiddhi, *seven theories*[2] put forward by contemporary and earlier thinkers with reference to the question of the association of *karma* and *jñāna* in the scheme of discipline leading to liberation. These seven theories are:—that all the injunctions in the ritualistic portion of the Veda are divertive in their purpose and tend to turn men away from natural activities in the direction of the meditative activity enjoined for the realisation of *Ātman*; that all these injunctions relating to *karma* are intended to kill desires through

1 Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-p. 779 verse 1765-Ānandagiri says here:—

"अविद्याया मृत्युमित्यत्र विहिताकरणं निषिद्धसेवा च मृत्युः, तद्धेतुत्वात्; अग्निहोत्रादिशास्त्रीयं कर्म विद्यां चेत्यत्र विद्या; एतेनाविद्ययेत्यपि व्याख्यातम्, तस्य धीशुद्धिद्वारा तद्धेतुत्वात्; अशास्त्रीयं स्वाभाविकं कर्म मृत्युशब्दोक्तम् अविद्यां चेत्यविद्या, तत्कार्यत्वात्; **निवर्त्यनिवर्तकभावेन च तयोः सहोक्तिरित्यर्थः ॥** "

2 Bra-Sid-p. 26-line: 24 to p. 28-line 7-part I.

a process of enjoyment and cloying and thus to prepare the way for the meditative activity leading to *Ātmajñāna*; that the performance of *karma* is necessary to discharge the three congenital debts (*ṛṇatraya*) whose liquidation is an indispensable qualification for *Ātmajñāna*; that the activities prescribed in the *karmakāṇḍa* are *bi-functional* in their character and have two distinct functions (*saṁyōgapṛthaktva*) by conducing to their respective fruits and also to the realisation of *Ātman*; that all *karma* is intended to purify men and make them fit for *Ātmajñāna*; that *Ātmajñāna* should be regarded as a purificatory subsidiary to the agent, subserving the requirements of the various activities prescribed in the *karmakāṇḍa*; and that *karma* and *jñāna* are fundamentally opposed to each other and have no interrelation whatever. Maṇḍana accepts [1] the fourth and the fifth among these theories and discards all the remaining five. In doing so, he clearly enunciates his own view about the interrelation of *karma* and *jñāna* and is definitely in favour of a particular type of *samuccaya*. He is favourably disposed, in an equal degree, [2] to the fourth and fifth of these seven theories-*saṁyōgapṛthaktvapakṣa* and *saṁskārapakṣa*. He is emphatically of the opinion that *agnihōtra* and such other obligatory rites form a highly valuable accessory to the repeated contemplation (*abhyāsa*) on the content of the verbal cognition (*śābdajñāna*) arising from the mahāvākyas of the Upaniṣads, in bringing about the final manifestation (*abhivyakti*) of the eternally self-luminous light of Ātman, which amounts to what is called *Brahmavidyā*; that those who have chosen to enter the religious order of *saṁnyāsa* can and do come [3] by *Ātman-realisation*, exclusively through the tranquillising, self-effacing, soul-centered, non-possessive, contemplative discipline, without the performance of scriptural rites ; and that the meditative discipline which brings about the manifestation of the pure *Brahma-vidyā*, when implemented [4] by the prescribed *yajñas* and such other rites, enables one, presumably a *gṛhastha*, to get at the final goal far more quickly than otherwise when *karma*

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1 Bra-Sid. p. 26. line 7 to p. 36-line 17-part I.
2 Bra-Sid-p. 36-lines 13 to 17-part I.
3 Bra-Sid-p. 36-lines 18 to 21-part I.
4 Bra-Sid-p. 36-line 21 to p. 37-line 3-part I.

is not comprised in the means employed. In this connection, Maṇḍana clearly advocates his own view regarding *jñānakarma-samuccaya*, which consists not merely in the combination of repeated contemplation (*abhyāsa*) - a special form of mental activity-with the indirect knowledge of the One Absolute Reality derived from the Upaniṣadic *śabda*, but also in the association of that contemplative discipline with the ritualistic discipline of the prescribed *yajñas* and such other rites. It would be helpful in understanding Maṇḍana's position in contrast with Surēśvara's to note here that Maṇḍana quotes the Brahmasūtra [1] "sarvāpēkṣā ca yajñādiśruteraśvavat" in support of his view of *samuccaya* and explains the illustrative expression *aśvavat* thus:-[2] "Though the goal may be reached by plodding on, without a horse, yet a horse is sought to be employed for gaining time or for avoiding inconvenience;" and that Śaṁkara, anxious as he is to avoid giving any handle to the advocates of *samuccaya*, gives deliberately a somewhat strained, though ingenious, interpretation of the phrase *aśvavat*, in this way:-[3] "Just as a horse is employed in drawing a chariot and not in an unsuitable work like ploughing, even so, the prescribed rites like *yajña* are intended to serve the preliminary purpose of preparing the mind by generating the desire to know (*vividiṣā*) and thus helping in bringing about Brahman-realisation." Though there are certain minor differences[4] among the post-Śaṁkara advaitins, like Vācaspatimiśra and Prakāśātman, about *Karma* being conducive to *vividiṣā* or *vidyōtpāda*, it may be safely said that both Śaṁkara and Surēśvara are definitely against the type of *jñānakarmasamuccaya* which Maṇḍana advocates. Surēśvara, as well as Śaṁkara, would urge insistently that the whole function [5] of Karma is restricted

1 Bra-sū-3-4-26.

2 Bra-Sid-p. 37-lines 1 to 3. "एषोऽर्थः—' यज्ञेन दानेन ' इति श्रवणात्कर्माण्यपेक्ष्यन्ते विद्यायामभ्यासलभ्यायामपि, यथान्तरेणाप्यश्वं ग्रामप्राप्तौ सिद्ध्यन्त्यां शैघ्र्यायाक्लेशाय वाश्वोऽपेक्ष्यते"— Part I.

3 Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya on Bra-sū-3-4-26. "अश्ववदिति योग्यतानिदर्शनम् । यथा च योग्यतावशेनाश्वो न लाङ्गलाकर्षणे युज्यते, रथचर्यायां तु युज्यते; एवमाश्रमकर्माणि विद्यया फलसिद्धौ नापेक्ष्यन्ते उत्पत्तौ चापेक्ष्यन्ते ॥"

4 Sid-leś-Vid-V. Press, Ben. 1916-pp. 402 to 408.

5 Naiṣ-pp. 30 to 32-verses I-46 to 51. Bṛhad-Vār-Part I-pp. 98-99 verses 321 to 325; Part III p. 1161-verses 79 to 82. Śā-bhā-on Bra-sū-3-4-33 and on 3-4-26. Bṛhad-bhā-Ānandāśrama press-pp, 412-413, pp. 657-658 and pp. 684 to 695.

to the preparatory stage and after purifying the mind and definitely orientating it in favour of true spiritual insight, all the prescribed religious activities like *yajña* vanish like clouds dispersing at the end of the rainy season. Further, Maṇḍana concedes, in a rather halting way, that it is quite permissible for a person to enter on the stage of *saṁnyāsa* directly from the stage of *Brahmacarya* and that, exclusively through *abhyāsa* in association with *śama*, *dama* and such other aids and without performing *yajña* and such other spiritual rites, a saṁnyāsin reaches the final goal of *vidyā*; and according to Maṇḍana[1] a *saṁnyāsin* can, at the best, plod on slowly to the final goal, while a person who harnesses *yajña* in the service of *abhyāsa*–presumably a *gṛhastha* – gallops on very quickly to the final goal. Unlike Maṇḍana, Sureśvara and Śaṁkara are zealous propagandists of *saṁnyāsa* and affirm emphatically[2] that *saṁnyāsa* is indispensable for Brahman-realisation. This position is wholly foregin to Maṇḍana's advaitism as embodied in his *Brahmasiddhi*; and it follows, as a necessary corollary from Maṇḍana's views in this matter, that the advaitic scheme of discipline which is available to a competent *gṛhastha* is more efficient than that which a competent *saṁnyāsin* can avail himself of, for the reason that the former may comprise *yajña* and such other prescribed rites and the latter cannot.

8. The doctrine of *Jīvanmukti* or 'liberation in the living state' is upheld by Sureśvara in a form[3] which does not come into any kind of conflict with Śaṁkara's views. Maṇḍana also supports the doctrine of *jīvanmukti*[4] but certain features of this doctrine as propounded by him come into direct conflict with

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1 Bra-sid-p. 36-liaes 21 to 23 and p. 37-lines 1 to 3-Part I. " सत्यम्; तथा चोर्ध्वरेतसां चाश्रमिणां विनापि तैर्विशुद्धाविद्योदय इष्यते; किंतु कालकृतो विशेषः; साधनविशेषाद्धि सा क्षिप्रं क्षिप्रतरं च व्यज्यते; तदभावे चिरेण चिरतरेण च । तदुक्तम्–' सर्वापेक्षा च यज्ञादिश्रुतेरश्ववत् '। एषोऽर्थः—' यज्ञेन दानेन ' इति श्रवणात् कर्माण्यपेक्ष्यन्ते विद्यायामभ्यासलभ्यायामपि, यथान्तरेणाप्यश्वं ग्रामप्राप्तौ सिद्ध्यन्त्यां शैघ्र्यायाक्लेशाय वाश्वोऽपेक्ष्यते ॥ "

2 Naiṣ-verses IV-70 to 73. Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-p. 843-verse 260; Part III-p. 1896-verse 1071; Part III p. 1257-verses 106 to 110, p. 1274-verses 200 to 204, P. 1923-verses 1228 to 1232 and p. 1264-1265. Bṛhad-bhā-Ānand-pp. 684 to 695. Śā-bhā-on-Bra-sū-3-4-20 and 3-4-47.

3 Naiṣ-pp. 196 to 202. Bṛhad-Vār-Part II-pp. 735 to 741.

4 Bra-sid-pp. 130 to 134 Part I.

Śaṁkara's views in this matter. Brahman-realisation completely destroys the accumulated *karma* of the past that has not yet fructified, and it prevents any future accumulation of *karma*. But there is a special type of the past *karma*, called prārabdha, which has fructified and begun to bear fruit; and this kind of *karma*, according to Śaṁkara,[1] is a live force, which must be allowed to work itself out through its own inevitable workings even in the case of a *jñānin*, who has realised himself to be Brahman. Such a *jñānin*, free from unfructified *karma* and living out only his fructified *karma* without being influenced and bound by it, is called *jīvanmukta* – one who is liberated and yet alive. Śaṁkara maintains that there are numerous instances of high-souled *jīvanmuktas*,[2] like *Apāntaratamas* reincarnated as Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana, Vasiṣṭha reincarnated as *Maitrāvaruṇa*, *Sanatkumāra* reincarnated as *Skanda*, and *Dakṣa* and *Nārada* reincarnated in many a corporeal form: that they are all *ādhikārikas* who are charged by the Lord with the privileged duty of rendering various forms of service in the worlds of men and gods, in accordance with the nature and strength of their fructified karma; and that, while such *jīvanmuktas* are not in any way affected and bound by the workings of their *prārabdha*, and live continually in the bliss of their spiritual realisation, their fructified *karma* may come to an end with the death of the body in which they have come by Brahman-realisation or it may lead to their donning[3] many other corporeal forms, commissioned by God to do many things before it comes to an end; that, in this manner, the force of the fructified *karma* is of varying strength in the case of different *jīvanmuktas*, it cannot be stopped like the force of a discharged arrow[4] and must spend itself out through its workings being experienced (bhōga)[5] in one embodied form or another; that the jīvanmuktas, who don many other corporeal

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1 Śā-bhā on Bra-sū-4-1-15 and 19 and 3-3-32.

2 Śā-bhā on Bra-sū-3-3-32.

3 Śā-bhā on Bra-sū-3-3-32. " अपान्तरतमःप्रभृतयोऽपीश्वराः परमेश्वरेण तेषु तेष्वधिकारेषु नियुक्तास्सन्तः सत्यपि सम्यग्दर्शने कैवल्यहेनावक्षीणकर्माणः यावदधिकारमवतिष्ठन्ते ॥ "

4 Śā-bhā-on Bra-sū-3-3-32. " प्रवृत्तफलस्य तु कर्माशयस्य मुक्तेषोरिव वेगक्षयान्निवृत्तिः ॥ "

5 Śā-bhā-on Bra-sū-3-3-32. " सकृत्प्रवृत्तमेव हिते फलदानाय कर्माशयमतिवाहयन्तः ॥"

forms, remember [1] distinctly all their previous incarnations and should be differentiated from those who are ***reborn*** and remember distinctly their previous birth (Jātismarāḥ); that the state of ***kaivalya***, which is entirely free from any possibility of living in the present or in any future body, is reached by a jīvanmukta, only after a complete annihilation of his fructified karma through the experience of its workings (bhōga); and that the *sthitaprajña* [2] referred to in the second chapter of the *Bhagaavadgītā* is the *jīvanmukta* who has realised himself to be Brahman and continues to live in his corporeal form. Maṇḍana's view in this matter exhibits a striking contrast in many respects. In discussing the question of the destruction of ***karma*** by the realisation of Brahman (tattvadarśana), Maṇḍana holds that two views can possibly be put forward:— one view [3] being that Brahman-realisation brings about the total annihilation of all karmas, the fructified as well as the unfructified, and that it is immediately followed by the falling off of the body (dehapāta) and complete liberation from embodied existence (videhakaivalya); and the other view [4] being that, in some cases, even after realising Brahman, the body in which realisation is achieved does not fall off and persists ***for some*** *time* as a result of a trace of nescience (***avidyā–Saṁskāra***) persisting in the form of *prārabdha* and that this condition is described as liberation in the living state (***Jīvanmukti***) [5]. The former of these two views rules out ***Jīvanmukti***, while the latter supports it. While Maṇḍana indicates, in unmistakble terms, that the former view is perfectly logical and admits of being harmonised with all the ***śrutis*** and *smṛtis* dealing with *mukti*, he shows his definite preference for the latter view and elaborately explains and maintains [6] it. Unlike Śaṁkara, who rejects the former view as coming into conflict with ***Śrutis*** and ***smṛtis***, Maṇḍana concedes that it may be maintained to be quite sound ;

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1 Śā-bhā-on Bra-sū-3-3-32-" स्वातन्त्र्येणैव गृहादिव गृहान्तरमन्यं देहं संचरन्तः स्वाधिकारनिर्वर्तनाय **अपरिमुषितस्मृतय** एव देहेन्द्रियप्रकृतिवशित्वान्निर्माय देहा**न्युगपत्क्रमेण वा** अधितिष्ठन्ति । न चैते **जातिस्मरा** इत्युच्यन्ते; ' त एवैते ' इति स्मृतिप्रसिद्धेः । "

2 Śā-bhā-on-Bha. Gī-2-54 to 72; and on Bra-sū-4-1-15.

3 Bra-sid-p. 130-lines 7 to 20-Part I.

4 Bra-sid-p. 130-line 21 to p. 132-line 5, part I.

5 **Bra-sid-p. 132-line 6-" सा चेयमवस्था जीवन्मुक्तिरिति गीयते " part I.**

6 **Bra-sid-compare P. 130 lines 7 to 20 *with* p. 130 line 21 to p. 133, part**

and agreeably to this view, he interprets the *Chāndogya* text [1] "*Tasya tāvadeva ciram*" as conveying the idea of *quickness* (*kṣipratā*) or total absence of delay in having *mukti* and supports his interpretation by secular illustrations like "*Etāvanme ciram yat snāto bhuñjānasya ca*" ('This will be the only delay for me–that I bathe and eat and get ready'), the intention in such cases being to convey total absence of delay. The conflict between the description of 'sthitaprajña' in the second chapter of the *Gītā* and the former view which supports *sadyōmukti* is removed by Maṇḍana, by taking the *sthitaprajña* to be a highly advanced *sādhaka*, [2] who has closely approximated to realisation and is awaiting it, and not a *siddha* who has realised Brahman and has annihilated all his nescience. In this connection, Maṇḍana discards [3] Śaṁkara's interpretation of the text "*tasya tāvadeva ciram*", according to which it should be understood to convey the delay that is caused in the attainment of *kaivalya*, together with its utmost limit, which consists in the falling off of the *body* or *bodies* caused by the fructified karma; and according to Vācaspatimiśra's Bhāmati, as interpreted by Amalānanda, Maṇḍana, when he says that the *sthitaprajña* of the *Gītā* is a highly advanced *sādhaka*, and not *siddha*, should be understood as criticising [4] Śaṁkara's view that the description of *sthitaprajña* in the Gītā should be taken to refer to a *Jīvanmukta* and to support the doctrine of *Jīvanmukti*. While Maṇḍana feels constrained to recognise the soundness of the doctrine of *sadyōmukti*, he prefers to accept *Jīvanmukti* in those cases in which the body persists even after realisation, owing to the persistence of a trace of *avidyā* (*avidyāsaṁskāra*). In Maṇḍana's opinion, the doctrine of *Jīvanmukti* can be harmonised

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1 Bra–sid–P. 130 lines 7 to 16.–Part I.

2 Bra–sid–P. 130 lines 17 to 19–" स्थितप्रज्ञस्तावन्नविगलितनिखिलाविद्यः सिद्धः, किंतु साधक एवावस्थाविशेषं प्राप्तः स्यात् ॥" Part I.

3 Bra–sid–P. 130. lines 7 to 16–" न हीयं श्रुतिश्चिरकालताविशिष्टं देहपातावधिं मुक्तेराह, किंतु क्षिप्रताम्, * * *' तावदेव ' इति न वाच्यं स्यात्, ' चिरम् ' इत्येव ब्रूयात्; ' तावदेव ' इति तु वचनात् क्षैप्र्यपरता गम्यते; अतः क्षिप्रैव मुक्तिः; नतु प्रतिक्षणीयमस्ति; देहपातस्तु तत्र नान्तरीयकत्वाद्भवत्येव । अथवा चिरत्वमनूद्य देहपातावधित्वमत्रोच्यते; अन्यथा चिरत्वेऽवधिविशेषे चोच्यमाने वाक्यं भिद्येत । " Part I. Cf. Śā–bhā–on Chānd 6–14–2.

4 Kalpataru–N. S. P. PP. 958 and 959–" भाष्ये स्थितप्रज्ञलक्षणनिर्देशो जीवन्मुक्तिसाधक उक्तः; तत्र स्थितप्रज्ञः साधको न साक्षात्कारवानिति मण्डनमिश्रैरुक्तं दूषणमुद्धरति–स्थितप्रज्ञश्चेति ॥"

with *śrutis* and *smṛtis* in a more satisfactory manner than the doctrine of *sadyōmukti*; the Chāndōgya text " *Tasya tāvadeva ciram*" should be taken to convey only the limit of *dehapāta* with reference to the delay (*ciratva*) which must necessarily be recognised in the case of *Jīvanmuktas*; the Gītā texts describing a *sthita prajña* may be taken to refer to a *Jīvanmukta*;[1] the trace of *avidyā* (avidyāsaṁskāra) that survives in the case of a *Jīvanmukta* becomes exceedingly attenuated and is entirely powerless[2] to cause any physical experience (bhōga) of a binding character, though it contributes to the semblance of *bhōga*; a Jīvanmukta's body and physical environment have really sloughed[3] off through his realisation, though they have not yet completely perished and they bear the same relation to him as a cast-off slough to the snake to which it once belonged; and a *Jīvanmukta* comes by kaivalya on the destruction of *his present body*[4] in which he achieved Brahman-realisation. While, thus, maintaining the latter of the two views regarding *mukti* and accepting *Jīvanmukti*, Maṇḍana sets his face wholly against Śaṁkara's view that the force of *prārabdha* cannot be impeded and must be allowed to spend itself out through *bhōga* like the force of a darted arrow and that *Jīvanmuktas* like *Apāntaratamas*, *Vasiṣṭha* and *Nārada* should be recognised as having had several reincarnations through the workings of their *prārabdha*. From Maṇḍana's observations regarding *Jīvanmukti*, it inevitably follows that the text dealing with *Ādhikārikas* should not be taken to refer to *Jīvanmuktas* in the strict sense; that the *Ādhikārikas* are merely *sādhakas* of the most advanced type; that a *Jīvanmukta* is absolutely free from the possibility of reincarnation and *attains kaivalya on the destruction of the body in which he achieved Jīvanmukti*; and that the force of the surviving trace of *avidyā* can, at the most, lead only to the persistence of a Jīvanmukta's body for some time and that this force, like the force of a darted arrow, can be and is

1 Bra-Sid-Part I P. 131 line 16 to p. 132 line 1.

2 Bra-Sid-Part I P. 131 line 21 to p. 132 line 1.

3 Bra-Sid-Part I P. 132 lines 1 to 3.

4 Bra-Sid-Part I P. 132 lines 9 to 14 " येन हि कर्मणा यच्छरीरमारब्धम्, तत्रैव तद्विपाकशेषाभासः । तस्मादनारब्धकार्याणामलब्धवृत्तित्वादारब्धकार्यसंस्कारक्षयस्य च देहपातादूर्ध्वगमाद्विदुषः पतितेऽस्मिन्शरीरे कैवल्यमवश्यंभावि ॥ "

actually impeded and greatly mitigated[1] by Brahman-realisation. It may also be noted by the way that among the post-Śaṁkara advaitins, Vācaspatimiśra, who follows Maṇḍana in many respects, has chosen to deviate from Maṇḍana and follow[2] Saṁkara in respect of Jīvanmukti; Vimuktātman, the author of the Iṣṭasiddhi, who prefers to follow Śaṁkara and Surēśvara in many respects, has chosen to adopt[3] Maṇḍana's position regarding *Jīvanmukti*; and that *Brahmānandasarasvatī*, who generally follows Śaṁkara and Sureśvara, and only maintains the reasonableness of Maṇḍana's views as against the adverse criticisms of the Dvaita-Vedāntins, has shown his definite preference[4] for the view that *Jīvanmukti* is only a *so-called mukti* and that *mukti* in the strict sense of the term is *videhamukti* or *kaivalya* which is invariably concomitant with the total annihilation of the body.

9. In Advaita literature, there is a well-established tradition which recognises two ways of viewing the Advaita doctrine. One of them is generally known as *bhāvādvaita* or *Sadadvaita*, which may be rendered in English by the expression *ens-monism*. According to this view, there is only one absolute reality of a positive kind-viz., *Brahman*; all the non-dualistic texts of Vedānta, like "*Advitīyam*", "*Asthūlamanaṇvahrasvam*" and "*Neti neti*" teach the negation of the world (*prapañcābhāva*) as the great truth of Advaitism, which can be learnt only from Vedantic texts and not from any other source; the realisation of Brahman as the only Absolute reality brings about the removal of nescience (*avidyānivṛtti*); the negation of the world and the removal of nescience are negative realities and do not come into conflict with the monism of advaita, which excludes only a second positive reality (*bhāva*) and is quite compatible with the recognition of a negative reality

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1 Bra-Sid-Part I P. 132 line 20 to P. 133 lines 3 "ये तु मन्यन्ते-प्रवृत्तभोगानां कर्मणां प्रवृत्तवेगस्येषोरिव चक्रस्येव न शक्यः प्रतिबन्धः, अतो भोगेन क्षयप्रतीक्षेति । तदसत्; शक्यते हीषुः प्रतिबन्धुं कुड्यादिभिः नाशयितुं च छेदादिभिः; स्वप्नादिसूचितोपस्थितविपाकवर्तमानदेहभोग्य-कर्मक्षयार्थानि च शान्तिकानि कर्माणि । तस्मात्संस्कारादेवस्थितिः ॥"

See also Bra-Sid Vyā-Part II page 264-lines 12 to 24 "**भगवत्पादीय**मतमुपन्यस्यति—**येस्विति** । तद्दूषयति—**तदिति** ।"

2 Bhāmatī-N. S. S. pp. 956 to 959.

3 I. S. pp. 74 to 78.

4 L. Ca.-N. S. P. - 1917 p. 3 lines 1 to 5.

other than Brahman, in the form a *prapañcābhāva* or *avdiyā-dhvaṁsa*; in view of the necessity for recognising such negative realities, the scope of the advaita doctrine should be restricted to positive entities other than Brahman and should not be understood as excluding certain negative realities; and the *advaita* taught by the Vedānta texts reduces itself, in this manner, to the accommodating type of *advaita* known as *bhāvādvaita* or *sadadvaita* (*ens-monism*). In authoritative works on *advaita* and *dvaita*, this view is contrasted sharply with the uncompromising type of strict *advaita*, which excludes thoroughly the reality of every category, positive as well as negative, other than Brahman. Vedantic tradition in Advaita [1] and Dvaita [2] classics, associates *bhāvādvaita* specifically with *Maṇḍanamiśra* and refers to it as *Maṇḍanamata*. Though Maṇḍana does not use the expression *bhāvādvāita* anywhere in his *Barhmasiddhi*, a careful scrutiny of that work in the light of the references in later Vadantic works to *bhāvādvaita* as Maṇḍana's view, discloses that Maṇḍana is disposed to support *bhāvādvaita* and to maintain it as a sound doctrine quite in harmony with the trend of Vedānta, more especially with the anti-dualistic texts in negative form. In the Brahma-kāṇḍa [3] of the *Brahmasiddhi*, Maṇḍana introduces the *bhāvādvaita* view in the course of the statement of an objection and, while refuting the objection, implicitly accepts the reasonableness of *bhāvādvaita*. If this were all that could be gathered from the *Brahmasiddhi* concerning *bhāvādvaita*, it would not be unfair to say that the text of that work does not adequately warrant the specific ascription of *bhāvādvaita* to Maṇḍana in Vedantic tradition. In some places [4] in the *Brahmasiddhi*, Maṇḍana equates the removal of nescience (*avidyā-nivṛtti*) with Brahman-realisation (*vidyā*); and this would appear to militate against the ascription of *bhāvādvaita* to Maṇḍana and one may justly wonder how his name came to be so prominently associated with this view. However, there should be no difficulty

1 A. S. N. S. P. 1917. p. 467. lines 10-11 and 16. A. Rat. Ra. N. S. P. 1917. p. 18 line 14 p. 22 line 2. L. Ca. N. S. P. 1917. p. 326-lines 12 to 23. Guru-Ca. No. 75-Mys. S. S. 1933-pp. 190 and 191.

2 N. M. Kumb. Pari-i-p. 198-line 1, Part 4-p. 1-line 4.

3 Bra-Sid-part 1-p 4-para 2 to p. 6-line 6.

4 Bra-Sid. part 1. p. 119. verse 106; and p. 121-last line.

in seeing that Maṇḍana sets forth and maintains, in unmistakable terms, the *bhāvādaita* view, in the *siddhi-kāṇḍa*[1] of the *Brahmasiddhi*, where he points out that the total negation of the world (*prapañcābhāva*) is the absolutely irreducible minimum of truth that could be exclusively attributed to Upaniṣadic teachings, having due regard to the fact that Brahman, in some manner or other, is presented in all kinds of cognition. *Brahmānanda-Sarasvatī*[2] explicates, amplifies and vindicates Maṇḍana's *bhāvādvaita* as set forth in the *siddhikāṇḍa* of the Brahmasiddhi. He points out that Maṇḍana should be taken to hold :— that the total negation of the world (*prapañcābhāva*) and the destruction of nescience (*avidyādhvaṁsa*) are the only negations which should be recognised to be real (*tāttvika*), in the sense that they are not annulled by Brahman-realisation; that the negation of the world involved in the conception of its unreality has a type of existence (*sattā*) which is superior to that of the world ; and that the recognition of the reality of *prapañcābhāva* and *avidyādhvaṁśa* does not come into any kind of conflict with the conception of *advaita* as *bhāvādvaita*. The full significance of the *bhāvādvaita* view is brought out clearly in the alternative expression *abhāvadvaita*,[3] which is sometimes used by the Dvaitins in their criticism of the advaita doctrine. Maṇḍana's name has come to be prominently associated with *bhāvādvaita*, not so much for the reason that he considers *avidyādhvaṁsa* to be a real factor, as for the marked manner in which he stresses the reality of *prapañcābhāva* in the concluding part of his Brahmasiddhi and emphatically declares[4] it to form the final and the *otherwise-unascertainable* (*pramāṇāntarānadhigata*) import of Vedantic texts. While Maṇḍana is prepared to reduce *avidyānivṛtti* to a positive form by equating it with *vidyā*, he points out that these two are coeval and indistinguishable realities and is clearly solicitous[5] of preserving the negative character of

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1 Bra-Sid, Part 1-p. 157.
" प्रपञ्चस्य प्रविलयः शब्देन प्रतिपाद्यते "-- × ×
× × " किंनर्हि शब्देन प्रतिपाद्यते ? प्रपञ्चाभावः । "

2 L. Ca-N. S. P. 1917-p. 326-lines 12 to 23.

3 N. M. Kumb. p-198; and chapter 4-p. 4-line 3. N. M. tar. Kumb. p. 371,

4 See footnote 1 above.

5 Bra-Sid-Part I-p. 122-lines 1 to 11.

avidyānivṛtti in his endeavour to reconcile its reality with the advaita doctrine. In respect of *prapañcābhāva*, he would frankly treat it as an irreducible negative reality, present as such alongside the absolute *Brahman* and forming the main theme of non-dualistic Vedantic texts. There is thus discernible in the text of the Brahmasiddhi, more particularly in the *Siddhikāṇḍa*, ample ground for taking *bhāvādvaita* to be a distinctive feature of Maṇḍana's contribution to Advaita. A careful consideration of Maṇḍana's *bhāvādvaita*, in comparison with what Surēśvarācārya has said in his works with reference to *prapañcābhāva* and *avidyānivṛtti*, would disclose a striking divergence and in some places an irreconcilable opposition between the views of Maṇḍana and Surēśvara in regard to *bhāvādvaita*. Madhusūdanasarasvatī draws pointed attention in his *Vedāntakalpalatikā*,[1] to the uncompromising antagonism which Sureśvara has shown to *bhāvādvaita* in the Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika. One of the Vārtika texts quoted in this connection in the *Vedāntakalpalatikā*—"*Nābhāvanisṭhonyatrāpi niṣedhaḥ kimutākṣare*"— is understood by Madhusūdanasarasvatī[2] to refute the view that *prapañcābhāva* should be taken to be an irreducible negative reality present alongside the absolute Brahman; and in fact one may go a step further and find in this Vārtika text "nābhāvanisṭhōnyatrāpi........"-a direct protest against Maṇḍana's text – "*Prapañcasya pravilayaḥ śabdēna pratipādyate*" which forms the main basis of *bhāvādvaita*. By the way, it may be useful to consider here the attitude towards *bhāvadvaita*, of the advaitins, who came after Maṇḍana and Śureśvara. Vimuktātman, the author of the Iṣṭasiddhi, may be taken to have accepted Maṇḍana's *bhāvādvaita* or *Sadadvaita*, as Madhusūdanasarasvatī[3] suggests, for all practical purposes, and the Iṣṭasiddhi puts forward two[4] views about the nature of *avidyānivṛtti*—*one view* treating it as a *fifth indefinable something* (pañcamaprakāra) *anirvacanīya*, in the sense that it cannot be said to be absolutely existent (*sat*), or absolutely non-existent (*asat*) or both or *anirvacanīya* as the equivalent of being removable by valid knowledge

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1 Ved-kalpa-S-Bh-T-No. 3 Benares 1920-pp. 26 to 28.

2 Ved-kalpa-p. 28-lines 6 to 8.

3 Ved-kalpa-p. 26-lines 3 to 9.

4 I. S. G. O. S. LXV-p. 85-para 2 to 86-line 12; and Chapter VIII.

(*Jñānanivartya*); and *a second view* reducing it to Brahman-knowledge (Vidyā) or the pure, absolute Soul (ātman). Ānandabodha[1] does not vacillate between these two views as Vimuktātman does and maintains, in his Nyāyamakaranda, the former of these two views and discards the latter; and perhaps this is why the view that *avidyānivṛtti* is a fifth indefinable something (*pañcamaprakāra*) is attributed by Appayyadīkṣita[2] to Ānandabodha in a specific manner. Citsukha,[3] in his Tattvapradīpikā, notices the views of Vimuktātman and Ānandabodha, criticises them and holds that advaita, in the strict sense of the term, makes it necessary to equate *avidyānivṛtti* with the absolute *Ātman* realised as such (" *Nivṛttirātmā mohasya Jñātatvenopalakṣitaḥ* ").[4] Madhusūdanasarasvatī and Brahmānandasarasvatī, while, in their polemics with dvaitins, they seriously maintain the perfect tenability[5] of the *bhāvādvaita* view, in the form in which Maṇḍana put it forward, as well as in the slightly modified form in which Vimuktātman and Ānandabodha adopted it, point[6] out in the constructive parts of their works that it is but an accommodation to the dualistic leanings caused by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika obsessions relating to the category of negation (*atyantābhāva* and *dhvaṁsa*) and that Citsukha's view embodied in the text (" *Nivṛttirātmā mohasya......* " should be regarded as decisive and thoroughly in accord with *advaita* in the strict sense. It may be safely stated here that, in the whole range of advaita literature before Citsukha, none could be said to have so frankly maintained the soundness of *ens-monism*, (*bhāvādvaita*) or *non-ens-dualism* (abhāvadvaita), as Maṇḍana did, in the concluding part of his work, in connection with the exposition of his text " *Prapañcasya pravilayaḥ śabdēna pratipādyate* , and none could be said to have so uncompromisingly repudiated this view of Maṇḍana, as Surēśvara did, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika*, in the observation—

1 Nyā-mak-Chow-S. S. 1907-pp. 355 to 357; and p. 357 lines 1 to 5.

2 Sid-leś-s-Benares 1916-pp. 499 to 500 line 1.

3 T. P. N. S. P. 381-line 5; and p. 383-line 3.

4 T. P. N. S. P. 382-lines 9 and 10.

5 See footnote 1 on page 139.

6 A. S. N. S. P.-1917-P. 467--line 16—"वस्तुतस्तत्त्वविद्यानिवृत्तेः पञ्चमप्रकारत्वं भावाद्वैतं चानभ्युपगमपराहतम् " ॥ Ibid-p. 885--line 18. " ये तु पञ्चमप्रकारादिपक्षाः ते तु मन्दबुद्धिव्युत्पादनार्था इति न तत्समर्थनमर्थयाम: ॥ " La. Ca. N. S. P. 1917--p. 885-lines 9 to 13,

"*Nābhāvanisthonyatrāpi niṣedhaḥ kimutākṣare*". It must also be noted in this connection that Rāmatīrtha,[1] in his commentary on the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka, states specifically that it is Maṇḍana's view that the *niṣedhavākyas* (negative non-dualistic texts) should be taken to teach *prapañcābhāva* as reality, independently of the affirmative Vedantic texts (*vidhi-vākyas*) referring to Brahman or that the latter texts should be taken to be subsidiary to the former. Sarvajñātmamuni and Rāmatīrtha understand this to be Maṇḍana's view, presumably because it is clearly deducible from Maṇḍana's observation about the import of non-dualistic negative texts in the Brahmasiddhi. In this context, it is also pointed out in the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka that Maṇḍana's interpretation of the *Niṣedha-vākyas* obviates[2] the need for having recourse to lakṣaṇā (secondary significative force) in the explanation of the meaning of advaita texts.

10. Maṇḍana's attitude towards Śaṁkara, as far as it can be made out from his Brahmasiddhi, is that of a self-confident and self-complacent advaitic teacher towards a rival advaitic teacher holding divergent views on certain questions, whereas Sureśvara's attitude towards Śaṁkara is, as frankly admitted by Sureśvara himself, that of a devoted disciple to his Godlike master. One of the striking features of Maṇḍana's Brahmasiddhi is that it is based chiefly on the basic texts of the Vedanta system-the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā and the Brahmasūtras; while Sureśvara's Vārtika and the Naiṣkarmya-siddhi are admittedly based on and intimately connected with Śaṁkara's bhāṣyas and other advaitic works. In the exposition of the Advaita doctrine, Maṇḍana does not own any special allegiance to any advaita teacher and plays the role of a perfectly independent and self-reliant teacher of Advaita. In the Brahmasiddhi, there is absolutely[3] no

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1 Saṁ-śā-Su--Ānand-S. S. No. 83--p. 227.

2 Saṁ-śā-Ānand S. S. No. 83--chap. I verses 250 to 252.

3 In the text of the Brahmasiddhi part I, page 26, the line— "अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां निष्प्रपञ्चं प्रपञ्च्यते ॥" is found quoted. This is found in the Sarvavedāntasiddhāntasārasaṁgraha (295), which is attributed by some scholars to Śaṁkara; and the authenticity of this work can be and has been challenged on very good grounds. In all the editions of Śaṁkara's bhāṣya on the Bhagavad-gītā, in the course of the commentary on verse 13, chapter 13, Śaṁkara quotes the line— "अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां × × ×" as an extract from

(continued on the next page)

instance at all in which Maṇḍana seeks to support his view with a quotation or extract from Śaṁkara's works, while he quotes a verse from Gauḍapāda's Māṇḍūkyakārikā [1] in one place and is inclined to strengthen his advaitic views by quoting Bhartṛhari.[2] There are unmistakable internal evidences, in the Brahmasiddhi, showing that the antithesis between *karma* and *jñāna*, which is maintained by Śaṁkara by an elaborate process of reasoning and an overwhelming weight of scriptural authority, is wholly unacceptable to Maṇḍana and repudiated by him without any reservation. In the Brahmakāṇḍa [3] of the Brahmasiddhi, Maṇḍana summarises and criticises Śaṁkara's view about the antithesis between *karma* and *jñāna*, rejects this view and gives his own verdict in favour of a certain type of *jñānakarma-samuccaya*, in which karma in the form of agnihōtra and such other sacrifices or at least in the form of meditation (*prasaṁkhyāna*), has an important place and function in the final stage of the causal scheme necessary to bring about Brahman-realisation. A careful comparison of Śaṁkara's remarks [4] on *karma* and *jnāna* in his *Catussūtrībhāṣya* with Maṇḍana's criticism of Śaṁkara's position regarding the antithesis of *jnāna* and *karma*, as also with the relevant portions of Sureśvara's Naiṣkarmyasiddhi[5] and Vārtika [6]

(continued from the previous page)

an earlier work, in this way—" तथाहि संप्रदायविदां वचनम्-- 'अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां निष्प्रपञ्चं प्रपञ्च्यते ।" It is obvious, therefore, that the line—' अध्यारोपापवादाभ्यां × ' quoted by Maṇḍana in the Brahmasiddhi, was not taken from any of Śaṁkara's works. Perhaps, this line was taken, both by Maṇḍana and Śaṁkara, from Ācārya--Sundara--pāṇḍya's Vārtika, from which Śaṁkara has quoted three verses at the end of the *Samanvayādhikaraṇa-bhāṣya* (See J. O. R. M. Vol. I-pages 1 to 15).

1 Bra-Sid-part I. p 150 lines 3 and 4; Māṇḍ-kār 1-11.

2 Bra-Sid. part 1-p. 26--line 21; V. pad--3--211.

3 See Bra-Sid-part I-p. 32 line 8 to the end of page 34, for a full statment of Śaṁkara's view; see page 35 to page 36, *ibid*; for Maṇḍana's criticism of Śaṁkara's view. See Commentary on Bra--Sid--Abhi--pra-(R. No. 3853 Tr. C. S. Mss in the Govt. Orl. Mss Lib.). page 47— " तदेव वाक्यार्थज्ञानमात्रादेव कृतकृत्यतोतिमन्यमानानां मतमुपन्यस्य स्वाभिमतं ज्ञानकर्मणोः संबन्धमवतारयति-अत्रोच्यते इति ।" See also commentary on Bra--Sid--Bhā-śu--R. No. 3967-Tr, C. S. Ms. in the Govt. Oriental. Mss. Lib,--page 90— " तदेवं वाक्यार्थज्ञानमात्रान्मोक्षमिच्छतां मतमुपन्यस्य स्वाभिमतं ज्ञानकर्मणोस्समुच्चयमवतारयितुमाह-अत्रोच्यते इति ।"

4 Bra--sū--bhā--N. S. p. 1917 pp. 51 to 70; pp. 113 to 116; line 8 to p. 129 line 5.

5 Naiṣ-p. 31--I--49; p. 38--I--verses 81 : pp. 146 to 148 III verses 64 to 70

6 **Bṛhad-Vār. part I, verses 357 *et seq*; and see footnotes 2, 3, 4 and 5 on page 127.**

and of Vācaspatimiśra's Bhāmati,[1] would compel a critical student of these works to conclude that Maṇḍana's statement of Śaṁkara's view on *karma* and *jnāna*, as *pūrvapakṣa*, in the Brahmakāṇḍa of the Brahmasiddhi, was intended by Maṇḍana himself to be understood as a direct epitome of what all Śaṁkara had observed on this subject in his *Catussūtrībhāṣya* and such intention was unambiguously indicated by Maṇḍana through the significant manner in which he wove into the closing part of the *pūrvapakṣa* portion of his own text, two[2] of the unforgettable sentences extracted from the end of Śaṁkara's *Samanvayādhikaraṇabhāṣya*; that the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi was deliberately designed by Sureśvara, acting at the instance[3] of his great master–Śaṁkara, to be a clear and effective counterblast to Maṇḍana's attitude towards *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*; and that Vācaspatimiśra, who wrote the Bhāmatī after writing the Tattvasamīkṣā and who had been deeply steeped in Maṇḍana's Brahmasiddhi, when he proceeded to interpret Śaṁkara's Brahmasūtrabhāṣya, felt constrained to draw attention to the pronounced divergence between Śaṁkara and Maṇḍana in respect of *karma* and *jñāna*, by introducing[4] certain portions of Śaṁkara's text as implying a refutation of Maṇḍana's views and by weaving relevant extracts[5] from the *Brahmasiddhi* into the *pūrvapakṣa* portions of the Bhāmati, although Vācaspati would prefer to retain as much as possible of his heritage from Maṇḍana

1 Bhāmatī- N. S. p. 1917-p. 51 line 5 to 54-line 2; p. 58. lines 7 to 14. Here, it should be remembered that Vācaspatimiśra summarises Maṇḍana's siddhānta as stated in the portion of the Brahmasiddhi referred to in footnote 3- page 144 and incorporates it in the pūrvapakṣa which should be refuted before Śaṁkara's siddhānta is maintained. In fact, Vācaspatimiśra has woven into lines 7 to 14 on page 58 of his Bhāmatī almost the very words of Maṇḍana in the Brahmasiddhi, in lines 23 to 25 of page 35 and in lines 17, 18 and 25 of page 12 and line 1 of page 13.

2 Compare Bra-Sid-Part 1--p. 34 lines 20 to 23, with lines 2 and 3 and lines 9 to 13 on page 150 and lines 8 and 9 on page 152 in the Bra--sū--bhā- N. S. P. 1917.

3 Vid-sura--com--on Naiṣ (R. No. 3354--Tr. Ca. S--Govt. Orl. Mss. Lib.) page 3— " शंकरभगवत्पूज्यपादरूपिणा भाष्यकारेण सकृदुपदेशमात्रादेवापरोक्षीकृतब्रह्मात्मतत्त्वः परमहंसपरिव्राजकश्रीसुरेश्वराचार्यो गुरुनियोगात्प्राणिनामुपकाराय श्लोकप्रबन्धरूपां नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिं श्रीमच्छारीरकप्रकरणमुपनिबबन्ध ॥ "

4 See footnote 1 above.

5 See footnote 1 above.

and to read it into Śaṁkara's exposition of *Advaita.* In the interpretation of the text of the Upaniṣads and the Brahmasūtras, Maṇḍana adopts an independent line and has no hesitation to deviate from Śaṁkara's bhāṣyas, where he finds such deviation necessary to maintain his own views. Attention has already been drawn [1] to the differences noticeable in Maṇḍana's interpretation of the Śrutis—" Ōmiti Brahma " " *Vijñāya prajñām kurvīta* ; " " Vidyām cāvidyām ca......... "—as compared with the interpretation of these texts by Śaṁkara and his loyal and devoted disciple, Surēśvara. Again, pointed attention has already been drawn [2] to the divergence between Maṇḍana on the one hand and Śaṁkara and Sureśvara on the other, in the interpretation of the Sūtra—" *Sarvāpekṣā ca yajñādiśruteraśvavat*". A careful investigation of those sections of the Brahmasiddhi, in which Maṇḍana discusses the relation between *karma* and *jñāna* and the nature of *Jīvanmukti,* would make it clear that his commentators [3] and Amalānanda [4] are right in taking him as animadverting upon Śaṁkara's views and rejecting them. It is clear in almost every section of Surēśvara's Naiṣkarmyasiddhi and Vārtika that he would consider it a sacrilege on his part or on the part of any other advaitin to treat Śaṁkara's views on certain questions in the manner in which Maṇḍana has done. It should be remembered here that Surēśvara avows [5] it to be his chief task to interpret, amplify and vindicate the thoughts of his Divine Master-Śaṁkara, while Maṇḍana plays the role of a perfectly independent advaitic teacher throughout his Brahmasiddhi. It is also noteworthy that, in the interpretation[6] of what may be regarded as the pivotal aphorism of the Vedānta system-

[1] See footnotes 2 on page 127, 2, 3 on page 128, 1 on page 129 and 1 on page 130 and pages 127 to 133 supra.

[2] See footnotes 2 and 3 on page 132 and page 133 supra.

[3] Bra--Sid-vyā--part II--p. 264--lines 12 to 24— " भगवत्पादीयमतमुपन्यस्याति-येत्विति । तद्दूषयाति-तदिति ।"

[4] Kalpataru--N. S. P. pp. 958--959—" भाष्ये स्थितप्रज्ञलक्षणनिर्देशो जीवन्मुक्तिसाधक उक्तः ; तत्र स्थितप्रज्ञः साधको न साक्षात्कारवानिति मण्डनमिश्रैरुक्तं दूषणमुद्धराति–स्थितप्रज्ञश्चेति ।"

[5] Naiṣ-p. 8-I-5 : pp. 203, 204, 205, IV-74, 76 and 77. Bṛhad-Vār-part I verse 2 ; part III--pp. 2071 to 2073 verses 22 to 25.

[6] Bra-Sid-part I-p. 155 lines 8 to 11— " तथा च 'तत्तु समन्वयात्' इति चोदनालक्षणाद्धर्मात् तुशब्देन विशेष्यं ब्रह्म समन्वयगम्यमुक्तम् । समन्वयोहि पदार्थानां संसर्गो विनियोगः, ततो ब्रह्म गम्यते न चोदनात इत्यर्थः ।"

" Tattu samanvayāt, " Maṇḍana does not care to follow Śaṁkara and wants us to take the word '*tu*' to indicate the difference between *dharma* and *Brahman*, and the word '*samanvaya*' in the sense of the interrelation of the meanings of words. Maṇḍana's interpretation [1] of the oft-quoted Muṇḍaka text " *Vedāntavijñāna-suniscitārthāḥ*......" is completely at variance with Śaṁkara's interpretation of the same text and bears testimony to the striking contrast between Maṇḍana and Sureśvara in respect of their attitude towards Śaṁkara. In the Bhāṣya on the Muṇḍakōpaniṣad, Śaṁkara takes[2] this mantra as referring to *jīvanmuktas* who have renounced all karma and firmly stand on *saṁnyāsa* and Brahman-realisation and become finally liberated in the sense that they realise themelves to be the absolute Brahman, the expression 'Brahmalokēṣu' being understood to be the absolute Brahman itself as *loka* and the plural number in that expression having reference to the apparent plurality of the adepts (*sādhakas*) before their *mukti*. Surēśvara quotes [3] this Muṇḍaka text in his Vārtika and follows up Śaṁkara's interpretation by pointing out that, according to this text, entering into the order of saṁnyāsa, in which all *karma* is renounced, is indispensable for Brahman-realisation. According to Śaṁkara and Surēśvara, '*Vedānta-vijñāna*' in the Muṇḍaka text is the effective Brahman-realisation arising from the *Mahāvākyas* of the Upaniṣads and '*saṁnyāsayoga*' is the *saṁnyāsāśrama* itself, which is here described as *yoga* in the sense of unshakable fixation in Brahman (*kevalabrahmaniṣṭhā*). Those who are familiar with the traditions of the Śāṁkara school know well that this Muṇḍaka text is usually cited as the distinctive motto of the *saṁnyāsāśrama* as conceived by Śaṁkara and his followers and that this is solemnly chanted on all occasions when anything is piously offered in the name of Śaṁkara or of any of his pontificial representatives. Maṇḍana, on the contrary, dissociates this Muṇḍaka text completely from the *Saṁnyāsāśrama* and explains it in a manner which would be characteristic of one, who refuses to believe in the supreme importance of that *āśrama*. According to him, [4] the expression

1 Bra-sid-part I p. 123--lines 8 to 17.
2 Muṇḍ-bhā-on 3-26.
3 Bṛhad-Vārt part III-p, 1264-verse 148.
4 See footnote 1 above.

Vedāntavijnāna refers only to the indirect verbal cognition of the truth arising from Vedantic texts and not to the direct and complete realisation resulting from constant meditation; the expression '*Saṁnyāsayōgāt*' refers, not to *Saṁnyāsāśrama*, but to the worshipfnl surrender of all actions and their results at the feet of God and constant meditation that all this is Brahman; and that the expression '*Brahmalokeṣu*' refers to the non-eternal producible world presided ever by *God Brahman* (*kāryabrahmaloka*) and does not refer to the absolute Brahman. Further, it may be deduced, as a very natural and perfectly logical corollary from Maṇḍana's criticism of Śaṁkara's views on the relation of *karma* and *jñāna*, that, if Maṇḍana should be asked to give his interpretation of the word '*atha*' in the first Brahma-sūtra, he would have no hesitation to say that '*atha*' should be taken in the sense of 'after investigating and understanding the nature of karma' '*karmāvabōdhānantaram*' and that one could hardly see any compelling necessity to take it in the sense of "after equipping oneself with the fourfold scheme of preparatory means" (*sādhanacatuṣṭayasampattyanantaram*). When considering Maṇḍana's attitude towards Śaṁkara in contrast with Sūrēśvara's attitude towards him, Sarvajñātmamuni's verdict [1] that *Maṇḍana prasthāna* is not *Śāṁkaraprasthāna* and is different to it leaps up into one's view with added significance.

11. In none of the available authoritative works on the advaita system, Maṇḍanamiśra is identified with Surēśvara, while in many Vedāntic works of the advaita and Dvaita schools Maṇḍana and Surēśvara are distinguished as two different advaitins. As already pointed out, there is sufficient evidence [2] to show that Surēśvara himself criticises some of the views put forward by Maṇḍana in his Brahmasiddhi. Sarvajñātmamuni [3] and the commentators [4] on the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka differentiate Maṇḍana from Surēśvara and draw attention to the fact that the

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1 Saṁ--śā--Anand. S. S. No. 83--p. 555, verse 174.—
"जीवन्मुक्तिगतो यदाह भगवान्सत्संप्रदायप्रभुर्जीवाज्ञानवचस्तदीदृगुचितं पूर्वापरालोचनात् । अन्यत्रापि तथा बहुश्रुतवचः पूर्वापरालोचनान्नेतव्यं परिहृत्य मण्डनवचस्तध्द्यन्यथा प्रस्थितम् ॥"

2 See footnotes 4, 5 and 6 on page 126 and 1-6 on page 127.

3 See footnote 1 above.

4 See the commentaries of Agnicitpuruṣottama and Rāmatīrtha on Saṁ. Śā. Anand S. S. No. 83 p. 555 verse. 174.

former's prasthāna is different from Śaṁkara-prasthāna, while the latter closely follows Śaṁkara. Prakāśātman, in his Vivaraṇa [1] and Śābdanirṇaya,[2] vindicates the views of Padmapāda and Surēśvara and criticises Maṇḍana's views, and where he quotes Maṇḍana with approval, he refers to him as the author [3] of the Brahmasiddhi and not as Surēśvara. Ānandabōdha quotes extracts [4] from the Brahmasiddhi in many places in his Nyāyamakaranda, accepts [5] Maṇḍana's views in some cases and criticises [6] them in cases where he prefers to adopt Surēśvara's views, and Citsukha identifies all these references in his commentary [7] on the Nyāyamakaranda, but nowhere identifies the author of the Brahmasiddhi with the author of the Vārtika. On the contrary, Pratyaksvarūpa, in his commentary [8] on Citsukha's Tattvapradīpikā, carefully differentiates Maṇḍanamiśra from Surēśvarācārya. Ānandānubhava, a great saṁnyāsin of the advaita school, who is presupposed [9] by Citsukha in his Tattvapradīpikā and who is the author of an advaita treatise called-Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī,[10] distinguishes Maṇḍana and Surēśvara in unmistakable terms [11] in that section of the Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī in which the *saṁnyāsa* of the *Tridaṇḍin* type advocated by Bhāskara and his followers is assigned an inferior place and *saṁnyāsa* in the strict sense of the term is maintained to be of the *Ēkadaṇḍin* type, involving the total renunciation of all the Vedic rites and the two external symbols of Vedic rites–the sacred thread (*Yajñōpavīta*) and the tuft of hair on the crown (*Śikhā*).

1 Pa-vi-viz. S. S No. 5-p. 105-lines 4 and 5 ; see also the relevant portion of the Tatt-dip-Ben. S. S. p. 359 lines 23-24.

2 Sā-nir-Triv. S. S. p. 71 verse 71.

3 Pa-vi-viz., S. S. No. 5-p. 32-lines 17-18.

4 Nyā-mak--ch-S. S. p. 231-line 9 ; p. 234-lines 8-9 ; page 256-lines 4-5.

5 See footnote 4 above.

6 Compare Bra-Sid-part I-p. 13 with Nyā-mak-Ch. S. S. pp. 338 to 351. See also Nyā--mak-p. 323 lines 1 and 2 in which Maṇḍana's view is discarded.

7 Citsukha's commentary on Nyā-mak-p. 231. p. 234. p. 256 pp. 290 and 291.

8 See Nayanaprasādinī on T. P. p. 333-lines 5 and 6 and p. 340 line 18.

9 See T. P. p. 6. lines 3 and 4 and Nayanaprasādinī thereon.

10 Nyā-ra-dī-manuscript R. No. 5505. Tr. Cat-Govt. Oriental. Mss. Lib. Madras.

11 Nyā-ra-dī-ms. p. 153. lines 16 to 18—" किंच प्रसिद्धप्रभावैर्विश्वरूपप्रभाकरमण्डनवाचस्पतिसुचरितमिश्रैः शिष्टाग्रणीभिः परिगृहीतस्य कथं द्वेषमोहाभ्यां विनापलापसंभवः ॥ "

In this section of the Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī, Ānandānubhava refers to *Viśvarūpa*, Prabhākaraguru, *Maṇḍana*, Vācaspati and Sucaritamiśra as reputed and reliable exponents of vedic religion and as having signified their approval of the *saṁnyāsa* of the *Ēkadaṇḍin* type. It is also stated in the same section of the same work that Viśvarūpa and Prabhākara themselves [1] became *Ēkadaṇḍi–Saṁnyāsins*, that Viśvarūpa expressed himself in favour of *Ēkadaṇḍi-saṁnyāsa*, in the smṛti [2] work which he wrote when he was a *gṛhastha* and not subsequent to his becoming a saṁnyāsin, and that Viśvarūpa came to be known as Surēśvara in his *Saṁnyāsāśrama*. It may also be clearly made out from this work that Maṇḍana did not himself become a Saṁnyāsin, though he was prepared to recognise śāstraic sanction [3] in favour of *Ēkadaṇḍisaṁnyāsa*, while Bhaṭṭa–Viśvarūpa himself became a saṁnyāsin of the *Ēkadaṇḍin* type. A reference to Viśvarūpa's *Bālakrīḍā* [4] would show that Ānandānubhava is presumably having in his mind, in this connection, the strong advocacy by Viśvarūpa of the *Ēkadaṇḍisaṁnyāsa* in the lengthy discussion of this subject which is appended to his commentary on verse 66 in the Prāyascittādhyāya of Yājñavalkyasmṛti. Ānandagiri, who wrote a commentary on Ānandānubhava's Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī and also a commentary on Surēśvara's Vārtika, besides several other works, has no doubt whatever that Surēśvara and Maṇḍana are different persons and points out that Surēśvara repudiates [5] Maṇḍana's view in favour of *prasaṁkhyāna* in the Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtika. Amalānanda, in his Kalpataru [6] draws attention to the fact that Maṇḍana, as an advaitin, criticises some of Śaṁkara's view and assumes that Surēśvara's Vārtika [7] should be taken to elucidate Śaṁkara's view and that Maṇḍana and Surēśvara were

1 Nyā--ra--dī--ms. p. 153 lines 19–20.
" ननु विश्वरूपप्रभाकरौ भवत्पक्षपातिनौ ; तावप्येकदण्डिनौ । "

2 Nyā--ra--dī--ms--p. 154--lines 2 to 6.
" गृहस्थावस्थायां विरचिते च विश्वरूपग्रन्थे दर्शितवाक्यपरिग्रहो दृश्यते । न चासौ ग्रन्थः संन्यासिना विरचितः ; तथाहि परिव्राजकाचार्यसुरेश्वरविरचितेति ग्रन्थे नाम लिखेत् ; लिखितं तु भट्टविश्वरूपविरचितेति ॥ "

3 See footnote 1 on page 133.

4 Bālakrīḍā--Part II-Triv. S. S. No. LXXXI pp. 29 to 31.

5 See footnote 2 on page 127.

6 See footnote 4 on page 146.

7 Kalpataru p. 921.

two different advaitins adopting different view-points. Vidyāraṇya, in his Vivaraṇaprameyasaṁgraha, quotes Surēśvara [1] under the name Viśvarūpācārya, thereby clearly indicating the identity of *Viśvarūpa* and *Surēśvara* and refers to Maṇḍana, [2] the author of the Brahmasiddhi, as a distinct person. In his Vārtikasāra, Vidyāraṇya refers to Brahmasiddhikāra as a great writer [3] who had an insight into the spirit of the veda (*Vedarahasyavit*) and quotes the verse "Sarvapratyaya vedye vā......" from the Brahmasiddhi in support of one of the alternative interpretations of the text "*athāta adēśo neti neti*". It is clear, from this portion of the Vārtikasāra, and the commentary thereon, called Laghusaṁgraha [4] that Vidyāraṇya and the commentator Mahēśvaratīrtha take Maṇḍanamiśra and Surēśvara to be different persons. To avoid any possible misapprehension here, it would be necessary to observe that, according to Vidyāraṇya's analysis in the Vārtikasāra, Surēśvara interprets the text "*athāta adeśo neti neti*" in three ways [5] in his vārtika; that the first interpretation avoids *lakṣaṇā* and takes the negative text to express directly the negation of the world (prapañca); that the second interpretation has recourse to *lakṣaṇā* and takes the negative text to indirectly convey an affirmation of the identity of *jīva* with Brahman ; that the third interpretation also proceeds on the basis of *lakṣaṇā* and presents the negative text as conveying indirectly the identity of *jīva* with *Īśvara* ; and that the second interpretation is more satisfactory than the first and that the third is most satisfactory. It should also be noted that, while there is some agreement between Surēśvara and Maṇḍana, as pointed out in the Vārtikasāra, in the first of these three interpretations, Surēśvara's attitude is one of half-hearted acquiescence. None, who remembers Madhusūdanasarasvatī's remarks on Surēśvara's opposition [6] to Maṇḍana's *bhāvādvaita*, can miss in the Vārtika portion setting forth the first interpretation, these facts:— that Surēśvara expressly repudiates [7] the *bhāvādvaita* implication in

1 Viv-pra-saṁ-Viz. S. S. No. 7 p. 92 lines 9 to 11.
2 Viv-pra-saṁ-Viz. S. S. No. 7 p. 224 lines 21 to 24.
3 Vārt-śā Ch. s. s. p. 573 lines 4, 5 and 6.
4 L. S. On Vārt. sā Ch. S. S. p. 573 lines 5 and 6.
5 Vārt-sā-ch. S. S. pp. 573, 574, 575 verses 82, 83, 84, 93, 97.
6 See footnotes 1-3 on page 141.
7 Bṛhad-Vārt-part II p. 1025 verses 196 to 199.

it by adducing the argument that the *niṣedha* also comes within the scope of *dvaita* and, as such, comes within the scope of *dvaitaniṣedha*, while Maṇḍana emphasises[1] the *bhāvādvaita* implication here and accepts it as a position quite consistent with the conception of *advaita-Brahman*; and that Surēśvara considers it safe, in the interest of *advaita* in the strict sense, to discard the first interpretation which comes dangerously near Maṇḍana's position and, after criticising Maṇḍana's position, proceeds to set forth, in the Vārtika, the second and third interpretations. From the way in which Appayyadīkṣita refers to *Vārtikakāra*[2] and Brahmasiddhikāra,[3] it may be made out that he knows that the authors of the Vārtika and the Brahmasiddhi are two different persons. However, in the Siddhāntaleśasaṁgraha, the first half of a verse from the Brahmasiddhi is found to be misquoted[4] as an extract from the Vārtika and Acyutakṛṣṇānandatīrtha also, in his commentary on the Siddhantalēśasaṁgraha, assumes[5] that the Vārtikakāra, Surēśvara, is the author of this verse. It would be a mistake to suppose from this erroneous reference that Appyyadīkṣita believed Maṇḍana to be identical with Surēśvara; for Appayyadīkṣita wrote a complete commentary on the Kalpataru and must have been quite aware that Amalānanda assumed that the Brahmasiddhi was written subsequent to Śaṁkara's *Bhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras and that Maṇḍana criticised Śaṁkara's views on certain questions; and Dīkṣita must also have been aware that Surēśvara's exposition of advaita doctrine was based entirely on Śaṁkara's works, while Maṇḍana's exposition of advaita doctrine did not follow Śaṁkara's works and constituted a different *prasthāna*, as pointed out by Sarvajñātmamuni, in his Saṁkṣepaśārīraka a work with which Dīkṣita was thoroughly familiar[6]. This misquotation, therefore, has to be accounted for as one of the possible oversights, for which he seeks the indulgence of his scholarly readers in the apologetic

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1 See footnote 1 on page 140.
2 Sid-leś-saṁ-Benares 1916 p. 418 lines 6, 7, 8.
3 Sid-leś-saṁ-Benares 1916 p. 498.
4 Sid-leś-saṁ-Ben. 1916 p. 473 lines 5, 6, 7.
5 See footnote 4 on page 146.
6 Sid-leś-saṁ-Ben. 1916 pp. 62, 75, 82, 270, 339, 340.

verse[1] at the end of the Siddhāntaleśasaṁgraha; or the expression "*ityādivārtikavirodhaḥ*"[2] may be the result of some scribal corruption[3] in the manuscripts; or this expression has to be explained by understanding Dīkṣita to mean that the idea contained in Maṇḍana's texts is in agreement with Surēśvara's views as expressed in his vārtika and any conflict with this idea would amount to conflict with the vārtika. It may be noted here that the last explanation suggested above may be supported by a reference to Vidyāraṇya's Vārtikasāra,[4] and Vyāsatīrtha's Nyāyāmṛta,[5] which draw pointed attention to the agreement between Surēśvara and Maṇḍana in respect of the idea embodied in the lines "*Sarvapratyayavedyevā XX*". Further, the Dvaita tradition, as recorded in *Davita-vedānta* works, clearly differentiates Maṇḍana and Surēśvara; and this is quite evident from the manner in which Vyāsatīrtha quotes[6] Maṇḍana, in his Nyāyāmṛta, as holding a certain view in a previous sentence, and in the next sentence quotes *Surēśvara*, as a different advaitic writer and as holding a very similar view. Madhusūdanasarasvatī and Brahmānandasarasvatī nowhere equate Maṇḍana with Surēśvara and assume in all their works that Maṇḍana and Surēśvara were two distinct individuals. This is quite clear from the manner in which the Vedāntakalpalatikā quotes[7] the Vārtika and Brahmasiddhi, in successive sentences, as works by two different authorities on Advaita and sets forth Surēśvara's vārtika in sharp opposition[8] to Maṇḍana's *bhāvādvaita* or *Sadadvaita*. This is also clear from the way in which the Advaitasiddhi[9] the Advaitaratnarakṣaṇa,[10] the Laghucandrika[11] and the Gurucandrikā[12] refer to Maṇḍana and his views on advaita.

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1 Sid-leś-saṁ-Ben. 1916 concluding verse.

2 Sid-leś-saṁ-Ben. 1916 p. 473 line 7.

3 Sid-leś-saṁ-Ben. 1916 p. 473—"इत्यादि वार्तिकविरोधः।" may be a scribal corruption of—"इत्यादि वचनाविरोधः।"

4 See footnote 3 on page 151.

5 Nyāyāmṛta Kumb. Vol. I p. 163 lines 6 to 9.

6 See footnote 5 above.

7 Ved kalpa p. 12.

8 Ved kalpa pp 26 to 28.

9 A. S. N. P. 1917 p. 318 lines 1, 2 and 11.

10 A. Rat. Ra. N. S. P. 1917 p. 21 lines 30–31.

11 L. Ca. N. S. P. 1917 p. 326 lines 13 to 23.

12 Gu. Ca. Mys. S. S. No 75 p. 484 and pp. 190-191.

It is also worthy of notice that the Siddhāntadīpa,[1] the Saṁbandhōkti,[2] the Subodhinī,[3] the Anvayārthaprakāśikā[4] and the Sārasaṁgraha[5]—all these commentaries on the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka, when commenting on the reference to Maṇḍana by Sarvajñātman in verse 174 of Chapter II of the Saṁkṣepaśārīraka, differentiate Maṇḍana's advaitic *prasthāna* in such a striking way that it would be impossible to equate Maṇḍana with Surēśvara. It would also be of great advantage to note here that Jñānāmṛta, in his commentary on the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, called Vidyāsurabhi, while criticising[6] Maṇḍana's view that *prasaṁkhyāna* brings about Brahman-realisation and *Śabda* cannot and maintaining the soundness of Surēśvara's view that śabda can and does bring it about, emphatically suggests[7] that, though Maṇḍana is a great *Mīmāṁsaka*, his *advaitasaṁpradāya*, as embodied in the Brahmasiddhi, is not *satsaṁpradāya* (good and approved advaitic tradition), while Surēśvara's advaitic tradition, based as it is on Śaṁkara's works, is *satsaṁpradāya.*

There are numerous works in Sanskrit purporting to give an account of Śaṁkara's life. They mix up in a hopeleasly confused manner legendary and historical materials. It would be very unreasonable to base any conclusion on the statements contained in these works, without adducing corroborative evidence from other and more reliable sources. The Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains over a dozen works[8] in manuscript form, which purport to give an account of Śaṁkara's life and some of which, like the Śaṁkaravijaya ascribed to Vidyāraṇya and Śrī Gōvindanātha's Śaṁkarācāryacarita, are avail-

1 Viśvaveda's commentary Ms R. No. 1558, Tri. Cat. Govt. Orl. Mss. Lib Madras.—" मण्डनमिश्रस्य तु प्रस्थानान्तरत्वात्तदीयं वचो यथाश्रुतमेवास्तु । "

2 Vedānanda's commentary Ms. R. No. 2919 Tri. Cat. Govt. Orl. Ms. Lib. Madras.—" अयमेव न्यायो वार्तिकादिषु नेतव्यः परिहृत्य मण्डनवचः, तस्यान्यथा प्रस्थितत्वात् । "

3 Ānand S. S. No. 83. p. 555.

4 Ānand S. S. No. 83 p. 555.

5 Haridās S. S. No. 18 Ben. 1924 chap. 2 p. 106

6 Ms. R. No. 3354 Tr. Cat. Govt. Ori. Mss. Lib. Nadras, p. 350. lines 6 and 7.

7 Ms. R. No. 3354 Tr. Cat. Govt. Orl. Mss. Lib. Madras p. 351 lines 6, 7.

8 Śaṁkarācāryacaritra 2 mss. D. C. No. 12171 and D. C. No. 12172; Saṁkaravijayavilāsa ms. D. C. No. 12173; Saṁkṣepaśaṁkaravijaya-ms. D. C. No. 12174; Ācāryadvādaśaka Ms. Tr. C. R. No. 146 (d); Ācāryadigvijaya ms. D. C. No. 12380; Śaṁkaravijaya- mss. 2b-4-15, 0 20 5, Guruvijaya ms. 1-10-14.

able in print.[1] A poem, called the Guruvaṁśakāvya[2] dealing with the life of Śaṁkara and his disciples and written by Vidvadbālakakāśīlakṣmaṇaśāstrī, about the end of the 18th century, is available in print. The late Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri, in his incomplete work on the age of Śaṁkara, speaks[3] of ten *Śaṁkaravijayas* and refers [4] also to certain other sources of information about Śaṁkara and his disciples. Almost all these works refer to Maṇḍana and Surēśvara. Some of them [5] identify Maṇḍana with Surēśvara and the Śaṁkaravijaya [6] ascribed to Vidyāraṇya proceeds further to identify Surēśvara with Viśvarūpa, Maṇḍana and Bhaṭṭoṁveka. Some others[7] distinguish Maṇḍana and Surēśvara as two distinct individuals, the latter being known by the name of Viśvarūpa in his *gṛhasthāśrama* In one of these works, Maṇḍana is referred to as Kūmārila's sister's husband.[8] Another work[9] states that Maṇḍana was living in *Vidyālayadeśa*, identified with the place called *Cijjalacidu*. Citsukha records in his Tattvapradīpikā, an old and reliable tradition that Bhaṭṭoṁveka is identical with Bhavabhūti[10], the author of the Mālatīmādhava and other dramas. Almost all the traditions embodied in these works are unanimous in associating Maṇḍana and Viśvarūpa with Kumārila as his pupils, in identifying Viśvarūpa with Suréśvara and ascribing to him the Naiṣkarmyasiddhi and the Vārtikas on Śaṁkara's bhāṣya on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Taittirīya Upaniṣads, and in not ascribing the Brahmasiddhi to Sureśvara or Viśvarūpa. The traditions in these works, which come down to the level of pseudo-biographies, containing more of legendary and less of his-

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1 Śaṁkarācāryacaritam by Govindanātha published by the Kerala publishing house, Trichur, Cochin State 1926. Śaṁkaravijaya attributed to Vidyāraṇya. Ānand. S. S. No. 22.

2 Srī Vāṇī Vilās Press, Srirangam, Via Trichy.

3 The Age of Śaṁkara by T. S. Narayana Sastri, B. A., B. L., Thompson & Co., Madras 1916 Part I Chapter III pp. 30-31.

4 The Age of Saṁkara by Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri, Part I Chapter III p. 31.

5 See footnote 8 on page 154 M. 18-6-6-C. No. 12380.

6 Ānand S. S. No. 22 Canto 7 verses 113 to 117.

7 Guruvaṁśakāvya Śrī Vāṇi Vilās Press, Srirangam Canto II verses 43 to 50.

8 See footnote 8 on page 154, 0-20-8.

9 See footnote 8 on page 154, 0-20-5.

10 T. P. N. S. P. 1915 p. 265 lines 8 to 12 and com. thereon.

torical material, must be discarded as unreliable in so far as they come into conflict with the weighty internal evidences in authoritative Vedantic works, to which attention was drawn in the foregoing paras. How unreliable the materials contained in the Śaṁkaravijaya attributed to Vidyāraṇya are may be easily seen from the way in which Vidyāraṇya, in his Vivaraṇaprameyasaṁgraha and Vārtikasāra, differentiates Maṇḍana, the author of the Brahmasiddhi, from Surēśvara, otherwise known as Viśvarūpācārya and from the arguments adduced by some writers to show the spurious[1] character of the Śaṁkaravijaya ascribed to Vidyāraṇya. As a result of a careful consideration of the host of literary evidences adduced in the foregoing paras from authoritative Vedantic literature, besides the conflicting and confused accounts of Maṇḍana and Surēśvara furnished in the pseudo-biographies above referred to, three important conclusions emerge:—*firstly*, that Maṇḍana, the author of the Brahmasiddhi, was never a disciple of Śaṁkara, did not become a saṁnyāsin, was not identical with Surēśvara and represented an advaitic *prasthāna* different from *Śāṁkaraprasthāna*; *secondly*, that Surēśvara, who was known as Viśvarūpa in his *gṛhasthāśrama*, was a pupil of Kumārila when he was a *gṛhastha* and came to be known by the name of Surēśvara when he became a *saṁnyāsin* and a disciple of Śaṁkara; that, in his Vārtika and Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, he controverted many an advaitic doctrine expounded by Maṇḍana in his Brahmasiddhi; and that Surēśvara nowhere departed from his avowed allegiance to *Śāṁkaraprasthāna*: and *thirdly*, that Maṇḍana should have written his Brahmasiddhi after seeing Śaṁkara's bhāṣyas, more particularly the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya; and that Surēśvara should have written his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, mainly as a *Śāṁkara-counterblast* to the Brahmasiddhi, probably in compliance with Śaṁkara's desire. If the *Maṇḍana-surēśvara* equation looms large, at present, in the world of advaitic scholars and continues to hold sway over the belief of many of them, it is because they have not so far

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[1] The age of Śaṁkara by Mr. T. S. Narayana Sastri, Part I chapter III pp. 148 to 159.

J. O. R. M. Vol. I 1927 'The last days of Śrī Saṁkarācārya' pages 330 and 331.

examined the grounds of this belief in the light of the internal evidence available in the Brahmasiddhi and a host of other advaitic works; and it may now be reasonably expected that, after the publication of Maṇḍana's Brahmasiddhi, scholars will see that Maṇḍana and Surēśvara are two distinct individuals. It may not be out of place to add here that, even in the midst of the scurrilous and blasphemous references to Śaṁkara in the Madhva work, called Maṇimañjari,[1] one could find that the correct tradition differentiating Maṇḍana from Viśvarūpa is preserved.

Maṇimañjarī by Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita. Canto VII verses 1, 8, and 9

DID CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA BELONG TO NORTH WESTERN INDIA?

By

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Conflicting views are held even to-day about the origin of Maurya dynasty. Vincent Smith gave a wide currency to the story that Candragupta was a scion of the Nanda kings of Magadha, and that his mother (or according to another version his grandmother) Mūrā was of lowly origin. The family name Maurya assumed by the dynasty founded by Candragupta was derived from Mūrā.

Vincent Smith seems to have based his views regarding the parentage of Caandragupta on the introduction of Dhuṇḍirāja, written as late as 1713 A. D.[1] to the drama Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta. It is difficult to trace any older and more satisfactory evidence for the Mūrā story. No doubt at one or two places the drama does suggest the kinship of Candragupta with Nandas. But at other places the drama also lends itself to the interpretation that Candragupta did not belong to Magadha and was unconnected with Nandas.

In the last scene when Cāṇakya, Candragupta, and Rākṣasa are brought together, one feels that Rākṣasa sees the young monarch and his clever minister for the first time. If Candragupta belonged to Magadha and was related to Nandas, it would be highly undramatic to represent that Rākṣasa, the minister of Nandas, had not seen Candragupta before. Moreover if Candragupta is taken as born of Nandas the whole story of Mudrārākṣasa falls flat. Cāṇakya took a vow to exterminate the whole of the Nanda family, but in the end put one born amongst them on the throne. Equally inconsistent becomes the character of Rākṣasa. One supreme thing in his life seems to be his devotion to Nanda family, yet he so bitterly fights one of the ablest of their

1 Telang's Intr. to Mudrārākṣasa p. 35 (6th. Ed.).

descendants, and is prepared to put against him Malayaketu, a foreign prince and a 'maleksha' on the throne of Magadha.

The fact that Candragupta did not belong to Nanda family is further suggested in the drama by his complete indifference to the murder of the last of the Nanda king Sarvārthasiddhi, who was averse to these worldly struggles for the throne and had retired to a hermitage. On the other hand at the death of Parvataka, the king of the Himalayan discricts and his ally, Candragupta performs his obsequies (Para 33 Act. 1). According to the Hindu customs and "sāstras" these rites are performed either by the son or other very near relatives. Thus Candragupta seems to be related to Parvataka and not to Nandas. But because of the fact that original Sanskrit texts have been so greatly modified from time to time, it is difficult to cite the authority of the drama one way or the other.

If we turn to Purāṇas the only fact they record about Candragupta is that with the help of his minister Kauṭalya he completely overthrew the Nanda dynasty and founded the Mauryan empire. They do not in the slightest degree hint at Candragupta's relationship with the Nandas. It becomes very significant when we know that Mahāpadmananda is so clearly mentioned by the Purāṇas as an illegitimate son of the Mahānandin of the Śiśunāga dynasty. If Candragupta was an illegitimate son ot Nanda this fact too would have been noted in the Pauranic traditions. With slight variations, which are not relevant to the present discussion, the following account of these facts is found in the Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa and Bhāgavata Purāṇas.

महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शूद्रायां कालसंवृतः ।
उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्त्रान्तरे नृपः ॥
ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः ।
एकराट् स महापद्म एकच्छत्रो भविष्यति ॥
अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ।
सर्वक्षत्त्रहरोद्धृत्य भाविनोऽर्थस्य वै बलात् ॥
सहस्रास्तत्सुता ह्यष्टौ समा द्वादश ते नृपाः ।
महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ॥
उद्धरिष्यति तान्सर्वान्कौटिल्यो वै द्विरष्टभिः ।

भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं नन्देन्दुः स भविष्यति ॥
चन्द्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति । [1]

Another view about the origin of the Maurya dynasty which is held by an important group of modern historians of India is based on the Buddhist traditions. The Cambridge History of India, where greater credit is given to these traditions, regards the "Mauryas a Himalayan offshoot of the noble sept of the Śākyas, the race of Buddha." And according to these traditions Mauryas originally belonged to Pippalivan. This may be a correct historical tradition. But in Pali books this Pippalivan had been wrongly identified with Nyagrodha forest, which was the site of the Charcoal Stūpa. As Cunningham remarks "Fahian does not mention the name of the town (i. e. the site of the Charcoal Stūpa) but in the Burmese and Ceylonese chronicles it is called Pippalivano, or the Pippal forest; and in the Tibetan Dulva it is called the town of the Nyagrodha, or Banian-forest. Hwen Thsang also speaks of the 'forest of Nyagrodha-trees as the site of the ' charcoal stūpa', and as he actually visited the place, we must accept his testimony in preference to that of the distant chroniclers of Ceylon." [2] The calling of the Mauryas an offshoot of the noble sept of the Śākyas and the identification of Pippalivan with the site of the charcoal stūpa seem to be the result of the attempts of the Buddhist chroniclers to give Aśoka a highly distinguished lineage.

Thus the current view that the Mauryas originally belonged to the eastern India and were perhaps related to Nandas is not based on convincing grounds. We give below in brief the reasons which make us suspect that Candragupta originally came from North-Western India.

(1) Dr. Spooner in a paper contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1915 drew the attention to the fact "In the excavations of Pāṭaliputra we find that the palaces of Candragupta were of pronouncedly Persian character" and that they "seem copies of the Persepolitan." This and other arguments

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[1] The above is the version of the Vāyu Purāṇa. P. 382, Hari Narayan Apte's Ed. (1905).

Ancient Geography of India, p. 492, (Majumdar's ed.)

put forward in the paper do not warrant us to assume as Dr. Spooner does, that Persepolis was his (Candragupta's) ancestral home. " But it seems that as in modelling a big Indian Empire likewise in modelling his palaces too Candragupta was greatly influenced by the Persian ideals. It also seems likely that he was very intimately in personal touch with the Persian Empire before its final break up by the Greek forces under Alexander.

(2) Appian, a historian of Syria of 123 A. D., whose references to Candragupta are worthy of the greatest considerations because of the very intimate relations between Seleucus, the founder of the Syrian Empire and Candragupta, the founder of the Indian Empire, calls him as the " king of Indians who dwelt about the Indus. "

(3) We know from Greek accounts that at the time of Alexander's invasion of India Candragupta was in the north-west. Plutarch mentions his having met the conqueror. How did Candragupta, if he belonged to Magadha, happen to be there at that time? To reconcile these two facts a highly improbable and fairy-like story is woven round Candragupta by the modern historians. A lad hardly above twenty, first tried to overthrow the Nanda king of Magadha. Having failed in this attempt he fled to the Punjab side. Soon after Alexander's retirement from India he there over-powered the mighty Aśvakas, west of the Indus, the powerful Poros, the great fighters Kṣatriyas east of the Ravi and the invincible Mallois in Sindh-all of whom gave Alexander the hardest fights of his life. It cannot be believed that all these powerful people submitted to an unknown run-away of doubtful origin. Even Alexander failed to subdue these freedom loving people. If the history is to be more correctly interpreted they submitted only to one great among themselves, as Candra gupta perhaps really was.

(4) The fact that Candragupta and the Maurya dynasty which he founded belonged to the north-western India can alone fully account for the very strong hold that this dynasty had for several generations on the entire western land frontier of India. It was for the first and the only time in the history of India that this western natural frontier of India along with the main land

formed one compact empire. Vincent Smith correctly observes "The first Indian Emperor, more than two thousand years ago, entered into possession of that 'scientific frontier' sighed in vain by his English successors, and never held in its entirety even by the Moghal monarchs of the sixteenth and sventeenth centuries.[1]

(5) The North-western origin of Candragupata will also help us to understand clearly how very soon after Alexander's retirement from India Candragupta completely uprooted the Greek power in the Punjab. Even before Alexander left India most of the Greek satraps he had appointed, including Philips of the royal family, were killed. It is absurd to say as Vincent Smith and some others do, that several years afterwards Candragupta came from Magadha to destroy the Greek forces left behind by Alexander in the Punjab and the north-west, when none worth the name were left there within a few months of his retirement.

If our surmise that Candragupta originally belonged to north-western India is correct, the following identifications may be suggested.

(A) If it be true as Appian suggests that Candragupta was originally the ruler of the Indus region, is not he the same person as Śaśigupta? Chandrgupta and Śaśigupta are synonyms. It is not an unknown practice in India to substitute synonyms even in names. Śaśigupta (or Sisikottos as the Greeks called him) was a remarkable personality west of the Indus, and he played an important part even during Alexander's campaign in India. He was the ruler of some state east of the Hindukush. He went with his forces to Bactria to help the Persians against Alexander. After the Persians were defeated in this last stand of theirs, Śaśigupta went over to Alexander. In the region lying between the Hindukush and the Indus Alexander received terrible resistance from the Kṣatriya tribe, called Assakenois (Aśvakas) by the Greeks. They made a last stand at Aornos, an exceptionally strong rock-citadel, which commanded the passage to the plains of India from the North-west. Alexander after he captured this highly strategic position put it under Śaśigupta,

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1 Early History of India P. 120.

and then crossed the Indus. Arrian calls Śaśigupta as the 'satrap of Assakenois.'[1]

If we take into account the practice that Alexander generally followed of putting in charge of the areas which he conquered the vanquished ruler himself or some one equally influential, we find no difficulty in assuming that Śaśigupta either belonged to the ruling dynasty of the area of which Massaga and Aornos were the chief centres or to some other influential ruling family west of the Indus. Obviously this was the only way in which Alexander could get the support of the entirely alien people. He did the same in case of Poros and the King of Takshashilla during his further progress India. If Candragupta is identical with Śaśigupta, then Candragupta was left by Alexander in a very advantageous position west of the Indus, whence he started his further conquest of India soon after Alexander's retirement. The neighbouring powers of the Panjab and Sindh were perhaps Candragupta's allies in this venture as suggested by the drama Mudrārākṣasa.

If Candragupta is identical with Śaśigupta then Candragupta belonged to the Kṣatriya tribe of Aśvakas whose influence extended from the Hindukush to the eastern Punjab at the time of Alexander. With the Mauryan conquest of other parts of India Aśvakas or Aśmakas settled in other parts of India also. In Budhist literature we also read of southern Aśmaka country on the banks of the Godāvarī. The Aśvakas belonged to the great Lunar dynasty. As Rapson remarks "The Haihyas, Aśmakas, and Vītihotras, like the Śūrasenas, belonged to the great family of the descendants of Yadu."[2] The fact that Candragupta belonged to the Lunar dynasty was also reported by Megasthenes.[3]

(B) The fact that Candragupta belonged to the Indus region may help us to give more satisfactory explanation of the origin of the name Maurya, which the dynasty founded by him bore.

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1 M'Crindle, Invasion of Alexander. p. 112. 2nd. ed.

2 Cam. His. of In. Vol. I p. 316.

3 Cam. His. of India. p. 409, also M'Crindle, Ancient India. p. 209.

In the heart of the country lying between the Hindukush and the Indus, once ruled by the Aśvakas, stands even today 'the three-peaked hill called the Koh-i-(mountain) Mor' [1] the Meros of the Greek classics, and perhaps also the Meru of Sanskrit. As Candragupta belonged to this region the dynasty founded by him was called Maurya. It may be noted that according to "the rules of Sanskrit grammar the descendants of Mūrā should be called Maureya and not Maurya," which name is given to them in all old Sanskrit books.

(C) As regards Pipphalivan, we have already noted that it was wrongly identified by the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon with the site of the charcoal stūpa. It is likely that the region between Hindukush and the Indus was known by this name. In the upper reaches of the Swat and the Indus lie Dardistan, from which 'piplika' or ant-gold was obtained. The fact that very large amount of gold was obtained from this area is testified by the heavy tribute it paid in gold to the Persian empire.

"The account of the ants who threw up mounds of gold, which afterwards became a permanent element in the classic conception of India was given in full by Herdotus. The facts on which the account was based seem now fairly clear. Gold-dust was actually brought as tribute by the tribes of Dardistan in Kashmir and was called by the Indians pipīlika. 'ant-gold'." [2] Megasthenes in repeating the story of the gold producing ants "added the useful piece of information that the country the gold came from was the country of the Derdae (in Sanskrit Darad or Dārada; modern Dardistan in Kashmir)." [3] Large quantity of gold was produced in this area during even Hwen Thsang's time and even now gold washing is found here [4]. Thus it seems likely that the whole area, between the Hindukush and the Indus, was more popularly designated in those earlier days as Pipplivan i. e., the forest of the gold producing ants.

A correct interpretation of the history of India of this period will not be possible unless we clearly realise that during the time

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1 Gates of India by Hodich p. 124,
2 Cam. His. of India. Vol. I. p. 396.
3 Cam. His. of India. Vol. p. 404.
4 See Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham. p. 96.

of Alexander's invasion north-western India was the chief centre and the stronghold of the Aryan civilisation. It was the home of scholars like Pāṇini, and it had seats of learning like Takṣaśilā, which attracted scholars not only from all parts of India but from all parts of the then civilised world. We are too prone, as Vincent Smith had actually done, to throw in the picture of this region even during those earlier centuries the present state of north-western India, forgetting that what it is today is the result of centuries of very bitter religious and racial struggles. A mistake is made when we identify practically the whole of the early history of India with the rise and fall of the Magadhan Empires.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF CANDRAGUPTA II[1] OF G. S. 61 FOUND IN MATHURĀ.

BY

D. B. DISKALKAR, M. A.

The stone pillar which contains the following valuable inscription was found in a well situated in the Chandur-Mandur Bagichi near Raṅgeśvara Mahādeva temple in *Mathurā* in July 1928. It was illegally acquired by Pandit Bholanath of Mathurā with the object of selling it and was consequently confiscated by the Government. In last February, immediately after I took charge of the Mathurā Museum, I was asked by Mr. W. C. Dible, I. C. S., the Collector and President, Museum Committee, Mathurā, to report on its importance. I could at once see that, the inscription was of considerable historical importance and with his permission announced the discovery to the public in the Press. The pillar has now been removed to the Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā. The pillar measures 4'–4" in height and is square at the base and at the top but octagonal in the middle. It is a typical Mathurā pillar of the Gupta period. The rough mason marks on the top and bottom of the octagonal shaft on one side, would show that the parts were probably embedded in masonry. The pillar seems to have belonged to a hall or porch of the temple where the two Śivaliṅgas mentioned in the inscription were installed. The inscribed portion covers five out of the eight sides of the octagonal portion. It measures 1'–7" by 2'–5" and consists of 17 lines of writing. The portion of the inscription on the front side is much worn out, the most serious loss caused to the record thereby being that of the regnal year of Candragupta II, to whose reign it belongs. On the front side of the square portion at the top of the pillar is engraved a big trident (*triśūla*) whose base measures 9" and hands measure 5" each. On the same side of the square base of the pillar is engraved in relief a naked three-eyed figure of

[1] This article was sent to the Government Epigraphist for India by the end of 1929 for publication in the Epigraphia Indica. But it was returned in the October of 1932. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's article on the same inscription has since been published in the Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXI part I, pp. 1–9, January 1931. As I think that my article still gives some new information not known from Dr. Bhandarkar's article it is published here without making any changes in it.

Bhairava with a big cudgel in his right hand and a scimitar in his left. The feet of the Bhairava figure are lost and in its present condition the figure measures 1′ in height.

The *characters* of the record may be called early Gupta marking an intermediate stage between the Brāhmī characters used in inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period and those found in Gupta inscriptions from 4th century onwards. It is noteworthy that the characters of the present record agree more closely with Kushāna than Gupta characters. Although the Allahabad pillar inscription of the time of Samudragupta must undoubtedly be earlier in date than the present inscription, the characters of the latter are of a distinctly archaic type as compared with the former. To mention one characteristic, the present inscription shows angular forms of letters, such as *ś*, *s*, *p*, *y*, whereas the Allahabad inscription shows rounded forms. Another letter of a decidedly early or Kushāna type used in the present inscription is *m*, the Gupta form, without the bottom loop being found in the Allahabad inscription and in another Gupta inscription from Mathurā itself referring to the reign of Candragupta II. Regarding *orthography*, as in the Allahabad inscription, a consonant following *r* is doubled except in the case of the words... ... ...*kīrtya* in l. 15 and... ... ...*pañcabhir* : *mahāpātakaiḥ* in l. 16. The numerical symbols for 60 and 1 occurring in l. 4 are worthy of note. The sign of *Jīvāmūliya* found in the 12th line deserves to be specially noted, as it is the earliest instance of its use in stone inscriptions.

The record opens with the word *siddhaṁ* and refers itself to the reign of *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Śrī Candragupta*, the worthy son (*satputra*) of *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Samudragupta* The year of his victorious reign was recorded in the third line but unfortunately the portion containing the year is considerably worn out. It is very likely that the regnal year was specified both in words and numerical symbols and the limited space occupied by the missing portion indicates that the number had a single digit. Then the *Gupta year 61* expressed both in words and symbols is given. The portion containing the name of the month is also worn out but the month seems to be Āṣāḍha. The word (*pra*) *thame* preserved after this shows that the month must have been

an intercalatory one. The *tithi* was the fifth day of the bright half of the month. The object of the inscription seems to be recorded in the next portion. Ārya Uditācārya, a Śaiva monk, said to be fourth in succession from the holy Parāśara and tenth in succession from the reverend Kauśika who was a disciple of some Śaiva pontiff, whose name ended in Vimala and a disciple's disciple of Kapila-Vimala caused to be built a big temple (गुर्वायतन) and installed therein two images or *Śivaliṅgas*, one of which was named Kapileśvara (apparently after the name of Kapila-Vimala his preceptor's preceptor) and another after the name of his preceptor, with the object of obtaining merit for himself and for the glory of his preceptors. The latter portion of the inscription contains a request to the Māheśvaras to protect the grant made for the worship and charity at the temple and the imprecatory order that whoever disregards the glorious memorial would incur the guilt of the five great and other minor sins. The last line contains an invocation to the ever victorious Bhairava, the Chief of those (Śaiva) ascetics who holds a terrific cudgel.

The record is of great historical importance. It gives not only the earliest date for the reign of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II but is also the earliest Gupta date so far published. The earliest date so far known for Candragupta II was 82 G. S.,[1] his latest being 93 G. S.[2] The present inscription which is dated in the Gupta year 61 thus carries back the period of Candragupta II's reign by twenty one years at one stroke and also shows that he enjoyed a long reign of at least 32 years. It is unlikely that the accession of Candragupta II took place more than two or three years before the date of the present inscription as a copper-plate of Samudragupta recently found at Nālandā is reported to have been dated in the Gupta year 55.[3] In the short interval between the years 55 and 61 room must be found for the brief and unhappy reign of Rāmagupta and the series of stormy and romantic incidents that led to the accession of Candragupta II and his marriage with queen Dhruvadevī. It is tempting to suggest that

1 *F. G. I.* No. 3.

2 ibid No. 5.

3 I am very grateful to Mr. K. N. Dikshit for giving me this information and suggesting me some more points in this article.

the expression worthy son of Samudragupta in the present inscription as applied to Candragupta II hints by implication at the tradition that Rāmagupta, the immediate successor of Samudragupta, proved to be a perfectly worthless ruler and Candragupta II restored the honour of the Gupta family by setting him aside and defeating the enemies of the Gupta empire.[1]

Attention may be drawn to another interesting point in the record viz., the word *prathame* in l. 3 which shows that there was an intercalatory month of Āṣāḍha in the Gupta year 61. This must be equivalent to the year 380 A. D., if the era began from 319–20 A. D and the year mentioned is 'expired'. It is worthy of note that there were two months of Āṣāḍha in the year 380 A. D. but not in the preceding or following year. This is a point of sufficient importance to determine the starting point of the Gupta era.

Although a large majority of the sculptures discovered in and round about Mathurā belonging to the Kushāna period (from *circa* 1st cent. to the 3rd cent. A. D.) pertain to the Buddhist and Jaina faiths there is no doubt that Brahmanical temples had been largely built at Mathurā during the Kushāna period. The number of Brahmanical sculptures of this period found in Mathurā is pretty large and is of great importance for the history of Brahmanical Iconography. The earliest known images of most of the Brahmanical deities such as Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Durgā can be traced in Mathurā. Dr. Coomaraswamy has rightly pointed out that the early Brahmanical fragments found at Mathurā have not been adequately studied.[2] The present inscription, giving a long line of succession of the Śaiva preceptors of Ārya Uditācārya, who himself lived in 380 A. D., leads us to believe that Śaivism has had a long history in the Mathurā region and the cult of Bhairava must have existed at least as early as the Kushāna times.[3] Although this is not the place to trace the history of Śaivism at Mathurā it can

1 See J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIV p. 223ff March 1928.

2 *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. p. 66.

3 This is further corroborated by the accounts of Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang who visited Mathurā in about 400 and 634 A. D. respectively and have recorded that along with many Buddhist monasteries there were some *deva* temples.

be said that some of the earliest images of Śiva have been found at Mathurā or were made of tha Mathurā school of sculpture. It is also seen that Śaivism had a great influence on the minds of the Kushāna rulers. Śiva is represented with or without the bull, two armed and nimbate, on all the coins of Wima Kadphises, who called himself Māheśvara. Śiva in two and four armed types appears among other deities on coins of Kaniṣka. The Kushāna king Vāsudeva is well known to be a devotee of Śiva and a number of his coins are found which bear the two armed figure of Śiva. It is well known that Śiva worship was very common throughout India in the Gupta period (cir. 320–600 A. D.) and the present inscription is the earliest example to prove it.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम् [1*] भट्टारकमहाराजराजा[धि]राजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस
2 त्पुत्रस्य भट्टारकम[हा]राजराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्त
3 स्य विज[य*]राज्यसंवत्स[रे प्रथमे ? गुप्त]कालानुवर्त्तमानसं
4 वत्सरे एकषष्ठे ६० १ [आषाढमासे प्र]थमे[2] शुक्लदिवसे पं
5 चम्यां अस्यां पूर्व्वायां [भ]ग[वत्कौ]शिकाद्दशमेन भगव
6 त्पराशराच्चतुर्थेन[3] [भगवत्क]पिलविमलशि
7 ष्यशिष्येण भगव[दुदित ?]विमलशिष्येण[4]
8 आर्य्योदिताचार्य्ये[ण स्वपु]ण्याप्यायननिमित्तं
9 गुरूणां च कीर्त्यर्त्थं [मुदिते ?]श्वरकपिलेश्वरौ
10 गुर्व्वायतने गु[रु]...प्रतिष्ठापितातिं[4] [1*]
11 तत्स्वया ? त्यं[5]र्थमभिलिख्य[ते सर्व्व]माहेश्वराणां वि
12 ज्ञप्ति× क्रियते सम्बोधनं च यथाकालीनाचार्य्या
13 णां परिग्रहमिति मत्वा विशङ्का पूजापुर
14 स्कारपरिग्रहपारिपाल्यं कुर्य्यादिति विज्ञप्तिरिति [1*]
15 यश्च कीर्त्यभिद्रोहं कुर्य्याय[श्चा]भिलिखितमुपर्य्यधो
16 वा स पंचभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्स्यात् [1*]
17 जयति च भगवाण[6] [भैरवो] रौद्रदण्डोग्रनायको नित्यम् [1*]

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[1] From the original stone and the impressions.

[2] The reading is very doubtful as very ittle is clear.

[3] Read चतुर्थेण

[4] Read ०पितौ इति.

[5] Read ०त्यर्त्थमभि०

[6] Read भगवान्.

FOLIATION OF JAINA MANUSCRIPTS AND LETTER-NUMERALS

By

Prof. H. R. Kapadia, M. A.

It is a truism commonly accepted that only when the society makes sufficient progress in point of culture and civilization that the art of writing [1] originates and is cultivated for its own sake. Furthermore, it is generally maintained that before the numerical characters distinct from letters can be invented and are brought into vogue, at least some time must elapse.

This leads us to infer that the method of using distinct letters or symbols of the alphabet to denote numbers [2] may evolve either before or after the numerical characters are invented, and that the method wherein both the letters and numerals are used to denote numbers, comes last in the course of this evolution.

With these general remarks I may turn to the question of letter-numerals. But before I may do so, I may mention that the aim of this article is not so wide as to deal with all sorts [3] of letter-numerals but to treat only those that are found in manuscripts and there too, especially in *Jaina* ones. As the question of letter-numerals is thus associated with *Jaina* Mss., it seems desirable that I should say a few words about *Jaina* Mss. in particular and foliation in general.

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1 As regards the art of writing, the reader may refer to J. R. A. S. (1898), pp. 241–288, J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX (pt. I, 1900, Dr. Hoernle's note), Appendix to "Indian Antiquary" Vol. XXXIII (1904), and "Early History of India" (1924), pp. 28–29 by Vincent Smith.

2 The method of denoting numbers by using letters of the alphabet can be traced at least as far back as Pāṇini; for, in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (I. 3. 11; V. 1. 3,) he has used vowels to denote numbers. Vide "History of Hindu Mathematics" p. 63. This work was not published when I prepared this article as desired by Mr. P. K. Gode, M. A., as the Curator of B. O. R. I. in his letter dated 15th Oct. 1935. It has been however utilized while revising it.

3 Alphabetical system of Āryabhaṭa I, Katyapayadi system, along with its four variants as well as letter-systems used in certain Mss. from the southern India and some Pāli Mss. from Ceylon may be mentioned in this connection. For details see "History of Hindu Mathematics" (pp. 63–75).

The word "manuscript" is here used in its ordinary sense; so it should not be taken to connote any and every thing "written by hand". Taking this factor into account, Mss. may be grouped under different heads according to the stand-points from which they are examined. For instance, from the point of location, Mss. may be said to be Indian or non-Indian. When examined from the stand-point of language, they may be spoken of as Sanskrit Mss., Prākrit Mss., etc. If *dharma* which can be roughly translated as 'religion', is made the basis of investigation, they may be classified as *Jaina* Mss., *Bauddha* Mss., *Vaidika* Mss., etc. Thus *Jaina* Mss. can be interpreted as works of *Jaina dharma* in a Ms. form. Uptil now I have not come across *Jaina* Mss. written in characters other than *Devanāgarī* (mostly *Jaina*) and Canerese, one of the southern characters. I shall, consequently, confine myself to foliation of such Mss. only.

Now a few words about foliation.

In order that the continuity of a work may be realized, one of the methods employed for this purpose is to number it. This numbering (pagination), when consecutively followed in the case of a Ms., is spoken of as "foliation[1]."

The student who has handled Mss., knows it full well that both the sides of a fol. of a Ms. are not numbered; but only one side is numbered. That is why the numbered side can be said to be *sāṅka* and the unnumbered one, as *niraṅka*. Thus, so far as Mss. written in Devanāgarī characters are concerned, on recto[2] there is no numbering, whereas on verso,[3] there is numbering.[4] The reverse seems to be case with most of the Mss. written in southern characters.[5]

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1 The meaning of this word is mentioned in "The Shorter Oxford Dictionary of Historical principles" Vol. I (1933), p. 727 as under :—

"The consecutive numbering of the folios (or leaves) of a book or Ms. 1846" (usage-year).

2 "Right-hand page of open book" (opp. verso). Compare the words "obverse" and "reverse" occurring in numismatology.

3 The left-hand page of open book.

4 See Prof. W. Norman Brown's "The Story of Kālaka", p. 132, plate IX.

5 In Tibetan Mss., the front-side which is indicated by a symbol (991) written just in the beginning is numbered in the margin to the left. Thus there is no numbering on the back side. Furthermore, it is not in numerical figures but in words expressing them, e. g. aṣṭan for eight to give a Sanskrit example.

If a Ms. is written on paper and contains a work written in Devanāgarī characters, its foliation is usually in ordinary numerical characters in the same script. In paper Mss., we find that foliation is mostly assigned a place in the margin to the right, while at times it is assigned a place in the margin to the left. There are to be found Mss. where foliation occurs in each of these two margins, too.

Generally, the number for the folio is written in the margin to the right, in a lower corner [1] and at times in the same margin in the intermediate space [2] between the lines bordering the written portion of a Ms. or very near this space. [3]

When the foliation is to the left, it is given the topmost place in that margin, but below the title and in the line next to it, when the title is there written[4]. In some cases we find double foliation resorted to, in one and the same margin. This can be accounted for, as under :—

(1) A codex forms a part of a composite Ms. In that case it is at times given a fresh numbering along with the continued one. [5]

(2) The old numbering is about to go.

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1 In the Ms. of *Yogaśāstra* with *svopajña vṛtti* No. 809 of 1892-95, of the Govt. Collections (B. O. R. I.) numbers for foll. are written in the margin to the right, just in a corner.

2 See the Mss. of *Saṁgrāmasiṁha's Buddhisāgara* No. 296 of 1871-72.

In the Ms. of *Vivekavilāsa* with *ṭabbā* No. 187 of 1873-74, there is double numbering for foll. 30 to 58. The numbers 1, 2 etc. for the second set are written in the space between the lines drawn in the margin to the right.

In a paper Ms. containing *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* with *ṭīkā* and some other works No. 235 of 1902-1907, there is double numbering in the margin to the right : (i) just in a corner and (ii) on the middle line out of three which are drawn as border-lines.

3 In most of the cases, this numbering is to the left of border-lines. But at times, it is to the right. Such is the case with a Ms. of *Pratimāśataka* with *vṛtti* No. 124 of 1887-91.

4 Mention of the title, folio-number, division or chapter etc. is spoken of as "huṇḍī" in Gujarātī. In short, huṇḍī furnishes us with a few details about a Ms. In Tibetan Mss., we find some details like this.

5 Even when fol. 1a is blank, two sets of numbers are found at times. As for example in the Ms. of *Meghamālāvratapūjā* No. 96 of 1898-99, in the margin to the right we have numbers १, २, ३ etc., and in the margin to the left we have numbers २१, २२ etc., though fol. 1a is blank.

(3) A scribe writes a fresh numbering every day he resumes his work of writing or transcribing the same Ms.

Sometimes we find a Ms. numbered just in the centre when some space is kept blank there[1], or in the disc[2], the square[3] or the spot which decorates its central portion. As an example of the latter case the reader may refer to a Ms. of *Dharmopadeśamālā* with *vṛtti* No. 1182 of 1887-91.

Occasionally, foliation is done in an artistic way. For instance, in the Ms. of *Vardhamānadeśanā* No. 239 of 1871-72 folios 301-365 have their numbers written in an artistic way. Out of these, 19 numbers are written in the body of living beings[4], whereas the rest are circumscribed by floral designs[5] which seem to differ from one another in some respects. The names of the 19 living beings along with the corresponding foliation-numbers are as under :—

Crane (326), (338) and (351); deer (325); elephant (348); gentleman (327); horse (304), (319), (329) and (352); monkey (315); ostrich (306), (350); parrot (361); peacock (358); pigeon (? dove) (318); stag (309); tiger (334) and woman (341).

When a scribe through oversight repeats once more the same number for a subsequent folio, he adds प्रथम and द्वितिय or प्र० and द्वि० to the corresponding numbers. At times he adds one of them to the pertinent number. When he commits such a mistake twice, he writes तृतीय or तृ०. A Ms. of *Sudarśanacaritra* No. 1174 of 1891-98 may be cited as an example. For, therein, the scribe has written प्रथम १६, १६ द्वितीय and तृतीय १६. At times, another

1 See the Ms. No. 56 of 1869-70.

2 For specimens of Mss. having a disc in the centre, see "The story of Kālaka" plate VI, figure 14, pl. VIII, fig. 21, pl. IX, fig. 22, and pl. XII, fig. 30. Out of these, figures 21 and 22 have one disc in each of the two margins, too. In plate IV figs. 11 and 12 and pl. V, fig. 13 given in this work we have discs in the margins only.

For additional examples, the reader may refer to figs. 71, 107 and 118 given in "A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra" (1934) by Prof. W. Norman Brown. In figs. 107 and 118, there are discs in the two margins, too.

3 Prof. W. Norman's "A Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue" noted above furnishes us with examples of this tpye. See figs. 15, 21, 91, 104, 110 and 121.

4-5 For illustrations see the picture facing this page.

RE ehe 3OE 3EE hhe che
3CE ChE nGE nCE REE bhe RCE nRE
GCE ehe nOE CRE EGE 3E 3OE RAE

method is followed viz. that of writing १, २ etc. below the number to be repeated.[1]

Sometimes it so happens that in the course of foliation one number is left out. In that case two numbers are written on one and the same folio.[2]

It may not be amiss to note that at times, foliation is faulty, inasmuch as a scribe adds one zero for nothing. For instance, in the Ms. of *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* with *Sukhabodhā* No. 635 of 1892–95, instead of Nos. 110 and 111, the scribe has written them as 1010 and 1011. As additional examples may be mentioned the Ms. of *Darśanaratnaratnākara* No. 433 of 1882–83 where the scribe has written Nos. 3001 to 3009 for 301 to 309, and the Ms. of *Samyaktvaparīkṣā* with *bālāvabodha* No. 818 of 1899–1915 wherein Nos. 310 to 338 are numbered as 3010, 3011 etc.

This finishes a rough survey of foliation presented in ordinary numerical characters so far as Mss. written in Devanāgarī characters are concerned. I shall, therefore, now say a few words about foliation connected with Mss. written in old Canarese characters. Herein as already noted it appears that numbers are written on the front side in the margin to the left in numbers in the Canarese script.[3] Such is not however the case with a Ms. of *Laghīyastrayī* with *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*, one of the few Jaina Mss. written in Canarese I have handled up till now. In this[4] palm-leaf Ms., numbers are given on the back side and that, too, in the space between the 1st two columns out of three.

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1 See the palm-leaf Ms. of Hemacandra Sūri's *Dvyāśraya* (Sanskrit) No.22 of 1880-81 wherein 3 leaves are numbered as 93 and two each. 94, 95, 96 and 97. Here repeated numbers are written as ९३/१, ९३/२, ९३/३, ९४/१, ९४/२ etc.

2 For instance in a Ms. of *Caityavandanakulaka* with *vṛtti* No. 19 of 1880–81, one leaf is numbered as 97–98 in the margin to the right, though, numbered as only ६३ in the margin to the left. Furthermore, in this Ms. two
८
leaves are numbered as 163.

3 With a pointed needle or so, letters are as it were scratched and ink is besmeared.

4 The same remark seems to hold good in the case of most of the Mss. written in southern characters. Only Mss. written in Malayālam have letter-numerals.

Now, without dilating any more upon the general characteristics of foliation, I may begin the subject of "letter-numerals"[1] occurring in Mss. They may be defined as letters or syllables used for foliation in Mss., instead of the ordinary numerical characters. These letter-numerals are written in the same script in which the Ms. is written. As for example, in a Ms. written in Devanāgarī characters, letter-numerals occur in the same characters, while in a Ms. written in Malayālam, letter-numerals are met with, in corresponding characters.

Before I proceed further with this subject, I may here mention some of the articles etc., written by different scholars wherein they have treated any one or more of the following topics:—

(I) A record of only one set of letter-numerals.

(II) Variants of letter-numerals.

(III) Interpretation of letter-numerals.

(IV) Origin of letter-numerals.

It is not possible to give here a complete list of all the articles etc. dealing with these topics. So a tentative list is being given as under:—

(1) Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, pp. 42-48, 143.

(2) "South Indian Palæography" (2nd edn., p. 65) by Burnell.

(3) Sir E. Clive Bayley's article "On the genealogy of Modern Numerals pt. II. Simplification of the Ancient Indian Numeration published in "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" Vol. XV (pp. 1-72).

(4) His article in Vol. XIV (pp. 335ff) of the same journal.

(5) "On a system of letter-numerals used in South India" by Cecil Bendall[2]—ibid., for 1896, pp. 789-792.

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1 Roman numerals 1 to 1999 may be noted in this connection as they are derived from repetitions and combinations of I, V, X, L, C, D and M, all of which are letters of English alphabet.

2 In his "Cambridge Catalogue" he has given a table of letter-numerals pertaining to Nepalese Mss.

(6) Dr. F. Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81, pp. viii-x.

(7) Prof. Peter Peterson's Report for 1882-83 pp.

(8) " Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā " alias "The Palæography of India " by Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, 2nd edn. pp. 103-130, A. D. 1918. (1st. edn., A. D. 1894).

(9) " Indian Palæography "[1] by Dr. Johann Georg Bühler A. D. 1904.

(10) Gujarātī Prastāvanā of Sanmati-Prakaraṇa[2] (pp. 18-22) published in Śrī Pūñjābhāi Jaina Granthamālā as No. 6 in A. D. 1932.

(11) " History of Hindu Mathematics " pt. I (pp. 72-74, 111, 114 and 116) by Bibhutibhusan Datta and Avadhesh Narayan Singh, A. D. 1935.

(12) " Jaina Citrakalpadruma "[3] (pp. 61-66) published by Sarabhai Nawab, 1936.

To begin with, let me quote Dr. Kielhorn's statement made by him on p. viii of his Report for 1880-81. It runs as under :—

" To my knowledge, this system of numeration by means of letters or syllables is never employed in any paper Mss., and there are indications that it had ceased to be understood even when these palm-leaf Mss. were being written ".

With due deference to this late scholar, I may say that letter-numerals are not exclusively to be found in palmyra Mss.; for,

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1 This is published as " An Appendix to The Indian Antiquary " Vol. XXXIII.

2 Herein one set of letter-numerals is given and the explanation for origin is attempted.

3 The remark made in connection with " History of Hindu Mathematics" on p. 171, ft. note 2, holds good in the case of this work, too.

I have come across at least eight[1] paper Mss. wherein letter-numerals occur. As regards the latter part of Dr. Kielhorn's statement above noted, it appears that it is more or less a personal opinion rather than a dogmatic assertion; so, I need not take a serious notice of it.

On my going through the *Jaina* Mss. written in Devanāgarī characters and deposited at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, I am led to form the following opinion about letter-numerals occurring therein :—

(I) Letter-numerals occur almost in every palm-leaf[2] Ms., while they are very rarely found in paper Mss.

(II) Letter-numerals are written in the margin to the left, that is to say they are not written like ordinary numerical characters, in the margin to the right.

(III) The principle underlying the system of letter-numerals is that each of the numbers from 1 to 10 has a seperate representation, and that similar is the case for numbers such as 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, and for 100, 200, 300 and 400. For other composite numbers of two digits like 11 to 19, 21 to 29 etc. the corresponding letter or syllable is placed above that for 1, 2, 3, etc., and for those of 3 digits a sign for the hundred in question is placed top-most and below it, in order are written signs for the corresponding numbers in the tenth place and the unit place.[3]

An exception to this principle is found in the case of the Ms. No. 24 of 1880-81 wherein the numbers 1, 2 and 3 are throughout

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[1] All of them belong to the Government Mss. Library deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Their titles along with their Nos. are as under :—

(1) *Nandīsūtra* (No. 756 of 1899-1915), (2) *Nalāyana* (No. 749 of 1899-1915), (3) *Kumārapālaprabandha* (No. 1275 of 1884-87), (4) *Upadeśamañjarī* (No. 552 of 1895-98), (5) *Nandayantīkathā* (No. 1315 of 1887-91), (6) *Saptatikā* (No. 23 of 1877-78), (7) *Śūs[illegible]tyastotra* (No. 826 of 1892-95) and (8) *Dharmaratnaprakaraṇa* with *Sukhabodhā* (No. 381 of 1880-81). On fol. 1a of a paper Ms. No. 1204 of 1884-87 two letter-numerals are written. One of them is for four.

[2] There are ordinary numerical characters on both the sides of a palm-leaf Ms. of *Jītakalpasūtra* No. 75 of 1880-81, and on both the sides of a palm-leaf Ms. of *Niśithacūrṇi* noted by Peterson in his Report III, App. p. 25.

[3] See plates I and II facing pages 178 and 179.

Plate I

Typical Letter–numerals

1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20
21	30	31	40

Plate II

(Continued)

44	50	56	60
70	80	90	100
101	102	110	111
127	200	201	260
290	299	300	344
358	385	400	401

N. B.—Figures in inset squares represent numerical values of the corresponding letter-numerals.

denoted by स्व, स्ति and श्री: e. g. थ denotes 21, थ denotes 22, थ denotes
स्व स्ति श्री
23, ल denotes 31, ल denotes 32, ल denotes 33 etc.
स्व स्ति श्री

In the case of some Mss. wherein some leaves happen to be more modern than the rest, those modern ones are at times wanting in letter-numerals, and they are numbered with ordinary numerical character employed in Jaina Mss. Mss. Nos. 4, 26, 38 etc. of 1880-81 may be pointed out as examples.

In this connection, I may give as under, the substance of the two note-worthy observations made by Muni Puṇyavijayajī in his Gujarātī article (p. 65) published in *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*:—

In some of the paper-Mss. having letter-numerals, letters and syllables for 10, 20, 30, etc. are not used to denote numbers containing two or more digits, but that the letters and syllables denoting one to nine are made use of. [1] As for example, for 10, 20, 40, 100, 115, 400 and 1240 etc., we have:—

स्व, स्ति, पक, स्व, स्व पक and स्व
० ० ० ० स्व ० स्ति
० ० पक
०

For economizing space or for some other reason, letter-numerals occurring in Mss. and denoting numbers of two digits or more are written one below the other as is the case with the Chinese method [2] of writing. But it should be borne in mind that letter-numerals found in some of the Chedasūtras, Bhāṣyas, Cūrṇis and Viśeṣacūrṇis etc. are not written in a vertical line but in a straight line that is to say in the same line as the other matter. I may illustrate this remark by quoting the pertinent passages given on p. 62 of *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* as under:—

"नो कप्पइ० असणं वा पक् पढमाए पोरिसीए पडिगाहित्ता"

—Kṣemakīrti's com. on Bṛhatkalpasūtra
(Uddeśaka II, gāthā 3320); pt. IV, p. 933.

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1 I do not remember to have noticed such a Ms.

2 From this can it be inferred that the letter-numerals occurring in *Jaina* Mss. may have their origin in a script or scripts written in a vertical line? This is what Muni Puṇyavijayjī, however, believes. See "Jaina Citrakalpadruma" (p. 66).

" जति दोन्नि थेरीओ निग्गच्छंति भिक्खस्स एका, तरुणी थेरी य जति एका, दो तरुणीओ जति निग्गच्छंति एका, एगा थेरी जति निग्गच्छइ एका, एक्किआ तरुणी जति निग्गच्छइ एका, तत्राप्याज्ञादयो दोषाः ॥ गा० २०८७ ॥ "

— Ibid, pt. II, p. 601.

" उक्खिवणा० गाथाद्वयम् । उक्खित्तेसु थिरेसु भिक्खू ठाति ना, अथिरेसु १० । विक्खिवणेसु थिरेसु १०, अथिरेसु १० ना । वितिकिण्णेसु थिरेसु १० ना, अथिरेसु थ्र । विप्पतिण्णेसु थिरेसु थ्र, अथिरेसु थना ॥ "

Ibid, pt. IV, p. 928, fn. 3.

" अत्तणा दिवा पंथेण अदिट्ठो १, अत्तणा दिवा पंथेण दिट्ठो २, अत्तणा दिवा उप्पंथेण अदिट्ठो ३, अत्तणा दिवा उप्पंथेण दिट्ठो ट्क, अत्तणा राओ पंथेण अदिट्ठो ॡ, अत्तणा राओ पंथेण दिट्ठो फ्रा अत्तणा राओ उप्पंथेण अदिट्ठो ग्रा, अत्तणा राओ उप्पंथेण दिट्ठो ह्रा । "

— Ibid, pt. III, p. 781, fn. 9.

In the beginning of (p. 1) of *Sūryaprajñapti*, the letter-numeral for 4[1] is given in the following passage[2]:—

" तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं मिथिला नाम नयरी होत्था रिद्धत्थिमियसमिद्धा पमुइतजणवया जाव पासादीया एक "

(IV) In some cases, there is a difficulty to be experienced in pronouncing letter-numerals, though not as much as is the case with the pronunciation of most of the letter-chronograms formed according to the system of Āryabhaṭa I.[3]

(V) There are slight or big differences in forms of letter-numerals.[4] For instance, numbers 1 to 3 are written in 6 distinct ways as under:—

(a) Jaina numerals ; (b) ए, द्वि and त्रि ; (c) श्री, दे and व ; (d) स्व, स्ति and श्री ; (e) स्व, स्ति and श्री ; and (f) ॐ, न and मः [5]
१ २ ३

The first method requires no explanation. The second may be explained as representing the initial letter of the word एक and the entire words द्वि and त्रि. The third method indicates splitting up of श्रीदेव, a holy formula of recitation. The fourth method suggests

[1] In Weber's Catalogue, there is a variant.

[2] See Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, p. 47.

[3] See " History of Hindu Mathematics " (p 69).

[4] See plates III to VII inserted between pp. 180–181.

[5] The sixth variety is here mentioned on the basis of Puṇyavijayajī's article (p. 65) in " Jaina Citrakalpadurma ".

Plate III

(Variants of Typical Letter-numerals)

1	१	५	८	९	१०	११	
2	१	४	५	८	९	११	१८
3	१	४	५	८	९	१८	
4	१	२	४	५	७	८	
	१३	१४	१५	K	K	K	

Plate IV

(Continued)

5	ट्टौ १	ट्टौ २	ट्टै ४	श्री ट्टै ५	ट्टा ११	ट्टै १७	तृ K
6	फ्रु १	फ्र २	फ्रू ४	श्री फ्र [redacted] ५	फ्रु ६	फ्र ८	
	फ्रु १४	फ्रु १५	फ्रु १५	फ्रु १७	फ्रु १९	फ्रं K	
7	ग्रा १	श्री ग्री ५	ग्री ७	र्ज्ञा १७			
8	ह्री १	श्री ह्री ५	ह्रा ९	ह्रा ११	ह्री १२	ह्रं K	

Plate V

(Continued)

9	[illegible] १	[illegible] ५	[illegible] ८	[illegible] ११	[illegible] १४	[illegible] १५		
	[illegible] २०	[illegible] K	[illegible] K	[illegible] K				
10	[illegible] १	[illegible] २	[illegible] ५	[illegible] ९				
20	[illegible] १	[illegible] २	[illegible] ४	[illegible] ५	[illegible] ८	[illegible] ९	थं K	थां K
30	[illegible] १	[illegible] २	[illegible] ४	[illegible] ५	[illegible] ८			
40	[illegible] १	[illegible] २	[illegible] ४	[illegible] ५	[illegible] ८	[illegible] ११	मं K	मां K

Plate VI

(Continued)

50	१	२	४	५	७	८		
	१५	१५	१६	२०				
60	१	३	४	५	६	८		
70	१	४	५	६	७			
80	१	४	५	६	७	८	K	K
90	१	२	४	५	७	९		

Plate VII

(Continued)

100	सु १	सु ४	सु ९	सु १०
200	सू १	सू २	सू ४	सू ५
300	सा १	सा २	सा ७	सा १०
400	सो १	सो १०		

that the word स्वस्ति is split up into two syllables, and these two along with श्री make up the well-known *maṅgala*, with which written documents etc. frequently begin. Numerals १, २ and ३ written below स्व, स्ति and श्री seem to have been used to point out to a layman what they mean. The use of ॐ, न and मः which together make up ॐ नमः is probably due to the same cause as that assigned to स्वस्तिश्री.

Reserving the question of the interpretation of letter-numerals for four and onwards, I may try to account for variations in letter-numerals. This may be due to any one or more of the following causes :—

(i) Ignorance of scribes, i. e. to say misreadings[1] of older signs by copyists.

(ii) Carelessness of the scribes.

(iii) Similarity[2] of characters.

(iv) Corruption of characters[3]

(v) Dialectical differences in pronunciation.

In order that these remarks may be easily understood, I may give an example of at least the first two cases. In No. 66 of 1880-81, we find that the signs for 50 and 80 are interchanged. This is probably due to ignorance.

In No. 19 of 1880-81 leaves 4 to 9 have the right sort of letter-numerals but on subsequent leaves instead of these letter-numerals ordinary Jaina numerical characters for ४, ५, ६, etc. are used. This may be ascribed to carelessness on the part of the scribe.

(VI) For one and the same numeral there is not only one corresponding phonetic value but there are more. Vide letter-numerals[4] for four, five etc.

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1 The resemblance of the Kṣatrapa forms of 5 and the contemporary forms of *jha* (Bühler, Tafel iii, line 14) can account for the confusion or misreading.

The Malayālam character for *pra* is a misreading for *hra* and that *tra* for 60 and *tru* for 70 may rest on a misreading of some of the earlier cursive signs (Bühler, Tafel ix, cols. 3-11).

These are the views expressed by Bendall. See p. 791.

2 *Hā* (Gundert) and *ha* are doubtless derived from a form *pha*, the characters of these letters being very similar in Malayālam. Ibid., p. 791.

3 *Dre* is an old form for *o* and is thus a corruption. Ibid., p. 791.

4 In a Ms. No. 473 of 1882-83, on fol. 14[a] ङ्क is written in a margin. Has it anything to do with a letter-numeral?

(VII) No symbol seems to have been used in Mss. for numbers from 500 to 600 and for numbers beyond 800. From this remark I am excluding numbers 700 to 799. For, in the paper Ms. of Nandayantīkathā referred to on p. 178 we have letter-numerals for 708 to 720: e. g. for 708 and 720 we have:— स्तौं and स्तौं.
ह्रा थ
० ० (the first column: स्तौं / ० / ह्रा; the second: स्तौं / थ / ०)

In a stray folio supposed to be about 400 years old, a list of letter-numerals occurring in palm-leaf Mss. is given. This list mentions letter-numerals up to 700. Vide p. 65 of "Jaina Citrakalpadruma".

In a Ms. of *Triśatī* supposed to be about 300 years old and belonging to Sheth Kastūrbhāi Lālbhāi, letter-numerals up to 10,000 are noted as under :—

"स्तु ४००, स्ते ५००, रस्ते ६००, रस्ता ७००, रस्तो ८००, स्तं ९००, स्तः १०००, क्षु २०००, क्षृ ३०००, क्षा ४०००. क्षे ५०००, रक्षे ६०००, रक्षा १०००, रक्षो ८०००, क्षं ९०००, क्षः १०,००० । इति गणितसंख्या जैनाङ्कानां समाप्ता ॥"

This leads us to infer that letter-numerals for Nos. 500 and onwards, are not likely to be found in Mss. of which the extent can hardly exceed 499 leaves. Consequently the information in this direction is possible to be derived mostly from coins [1] and inscriptions only. [2]

In *Jaina* Mss. letter-numerals have been used even up to the 16th century at least.

With this digression if it can be so called, I may now resume the question of the interpretation of letter-numerals. At the very outset I may note that some of the letter-numerals occurring in Jaina Mss. resemble more or less those occurring elsewhere :

(1) The letter-numeral for 50 is met with in the Aśoka inscriptions. Same is the case with the letter-numeral for 90. It is found in the 6th *dharmalipi* of Aśoka.

(2) Letter-numerals for 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 30, 40, 50, 70 and 80 are akin to those corresponding ones occurring in Baudha Mss. from Nepal[3].

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1 Kṣatrapa, for instance.

2 Aśoka's inscriptions, Nanāghāt inscriptions and Kuṣana inscriptions may be cited as examples.

3 See "History of Hindu Mathematics" pp. 111 and 114.

(3) In the Mss. written in Malayālam, we have the following letters representing Nos. 1 to 10, and decuples of 2 to 10 respectively: —

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १० २० ३० ४० ५० ६० ७० ८० ९० १००
न न्न न्य ष्क श्र हा (ह) ग्र प्र ह्रे म थ ल त्त व त्र त्रु (रु) छ (? न्त्र)ण त्र[1]

Out of these ग्र, थ, ल, and म can be singled out for comparison.

(4) An akṣara-system once prevalent, if not current, amongst the Sinhalese may be also consulted.[2]

It appears that unless a band of scholars well-versed in different scripts such as Brāhmī, Nepalese, Malayālam and Sinhalese and proficient with the traditional lore etc. of the peoples wherein these scripts are or were prevalent, seriously takes up the question of the origin of letter-numerals, attempts made singly are not likely to yield a desired result worthy of universal approval. Nevertheless I take this opportunity of recording an attempt, though incomplete and inconvincing, recently made in this direction by the joint editors of *Sanmati-prakaraṇa* in their Gujarātī introduction (pp. 19-22) to this work. These editors have given only one set of letter-numerals out of which evaluation of the following have been attempted by them :—

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1 See "Table of Letter-numerals" given in the "Cambride Catalogue" by Cecil Bendall.

Cf. J. R. A. S. 1896, p. 790. Here this list is given with corresponding Malayālam characters. It is reproduced from the "Grammar of the Malayālam Language" (§ 148ᵃ, pp. 41-42, 2nd edn., Mangalore, 1868) by H. Gundert. Furthermore Bendall has made the following observation on this very (790) page :—

"The British Museum (Add. 7, 134) possesses a Sanskrit Ms. (of the drama Anargharāghava) written in Malayālam character, and bearing leaf-numbering on the above system. It is undated, but from its appearance it may well have been written shortly before the year it was presented to the Museum, 1829."

2 This is what can be inferred from the following remark (p. 792) of Bendall :—

"The Sinhalese, as my friend Vikramasiṁha reminds me, have also an *akṣara*-system. This might, no doubt, be easily worked out from the earlier Sinhalese epigraphy. I note, in passing, the forms of 4, 7 and 30 which appear to correspond to forms of *ṅka*, *gra*, and *la* respectively.

स्व (sva), स्ति (sti), श्री (śrī), ण्र्क (rṅka), र्तृ (rtṛ) र्फ्रु, (rphru) र्ग्रा (rgrā), ह्र (hra), ॐ (om), ऌ (lṛ), थ (tha), ळा (lā) and ६३

These editors have assigned to the particular vowel, consonant, or syllable the same value as the place it occupies in its class or *varga*. For instance क and त are evaluated as one ; आ, थ, फ and र as two ; उ, ग and ल as three ; ऋ and ह as four ; ण and म as five ; and ॠ as seven. Furthermore, they have made use of three fundamental operations viz. addition, subtraction and multiplication. Out of these the first and the third operations connected with vowels and consonants are said to be based upon the Ārya-siddhānta of Āryabhaṭṭa, whereas the second is said to be based upon the process employed for Latin [1] numeration. On this understanding they have evaluated the letter-numerals for 4 to 10, 20, 30 and 90 as under:—

ण्र्क (ण् + क) = 4 (5–1 [2]).

They have thus discarded *repha* (snarl) by taking it to be a mere plume (*chogum*).

तृ (त् + ऋ) = 5 (1+4).

फ्रु (फ् + उ) = 6 (2 + 3). Here ्र is neglected but no explanation is given.

ग्रा (ग् + ्र + आ) = 7 (3+2+2).

ह्रा [3] (ह् + ्र + आ) = 8 (4+2+2).

ॐ (अ + उ + म्) = 9 (1+3+5). Or it signifies nine as it stands for the *nava padas* of the *Jainas*.

ऌ (ल् + ऋ) = 10 (3+7). Here the dot placed below ऌ is not taken into account. This is explained in two ways:—

(a) It is redundant as no such dot is seen on p. 107 of Prācīna lipimālā (Ojha's).

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1 This is a wrong nomenclature. The right one is Roman.

2 Here IX, a Roman numeral is cited as an axample. Of course, the editors designate it as a Latin numeral and commit further mistake when they say in this connection (p. 19) that in Latin, consonants such as X and Y denote numbers.

3 While mentioning letter-numerals ह्र is mentioned whereas ह्रा is taken here. So it seems in the first case there is a slip.

(b) It indicates the ten's place.

थ = 20. Here as well as in the case of 30, however, the dote is taken into account.

ला = 30. Here आ is discarded.

६३ = 90. Here the portion above dot is read as ६+३. As regards the addition of ३ and ६, XV is cited as an example from the Latin numeration.

On this basis, though imperfect and unscientific [1], one can explain why प्त, थु and थू stand for 40, 50, 60 ; but such an attempt is not made by the editors.

In the end I may turn to *Jaina* sources with a view to get the designation for letter-numerals. As this is connected with *lipis*, it will not be amiss to say a few words about its origin. Lord Ṛsabha, the 1st Tīrthaṁkara who flourished in the 3rd *āra* (spoke) of this *avsarpiṇī* cycle of time, taught 18 *lipis* and *gaṇita* respectively to Brāhmī, and Sundarī, his two daughters. Amongst the 18 *lipis* about which the earliest reference is found in *Samavāya* there is mention of *aṅkalipi*, *Brāhmī* being the first. If the word *lipi* used here is not to be taken in a general sense meaning 'writing' but is to be interpreted as 'alphabet', *aṅka-lipi* may mean a "letter-numeral" i. e. to say a numeral denoted by a letter. If this is correct, the earliest designation for a letter-numeral seems to be *aṅkalipi*, otherwise, the word *akṣarapallī* [2]

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1 It appears to be so, for the following reasons :—

(a) It fails to explain all the letter-numerals.

(b) Instead of one and the same letter representing a particular number, several do so. I do not think the learned editors or any one else can defend this on the ground that in word-chronograms one and the same number is denoted by various words.

(c) Some times a letter is neglected without any reason whatsoever.

(d) The letter ṛ is evaluated in two different ways once as 4 and once as 7. Similarly a dot below a letter is at times neglected and several times taken into account.

2 In *History of Hindu Mathematics* (p. 34) it is remarked that "the *akṣarapallī*, suggests that the old Brāhmī numerals also might have been fashioned after the letters or the syllables of the Brāhmī alphabet."

The word akṣarapallī (syllabic system) is used in contrast with aṅkapallī (decimal system) by Bendall on p. 789.

said to be used in a Jaina work may be substituted in its place. I do not know if the letter-numeral is given a special name like *aṅkalipi* or *akṣarapallī* [1] in any non-*Jaina* work. So, I am tempted to request veteran scholars to point out, if there is any such designation.

Furthermore, it may be mentioned in this connection that if the order in which the *lipis* are mentioned in *Samavāya* is chronological, then *aṅka-lipi* comes after *akṣara-lipi* as is but natural.

In the end, I may conclude this article with the hope of furnishing additional information regarding this subject in my article viz. " Outlines of Palæography with special reference to Jaina Palæographical data and their evaluation " in connection with which I have been recently given a Research grant by the University of Bombay.

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[1] This should be distinguished from the word *aṅkapallī* used by the *Jainas* to denote decimal notation.

A system akin to akṣarapallī is even now current in Malabar. Cf. J. R. A. S. (1896) p. 790.

THE DATE OF VĀDIRĀJA TĪRTHA

BY

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA, M. A.

In his paper on the date of Vādirāja, (*Annals* xvii pp. 203–210) Mr. Gode has convincingly refuted the theory of Vādirāja's demise in 1339 A. D. Ever since Prof. P. P. S. Sastri made the claim in the preface to his Southern Recension of the Epic and followed it up with the remark that "the *Lakṣālaṁkāra* may possibly turn out to be the earliest dated commentary on the *Mahābhārata*" (p. xi-vol. 3), I have doubted the tenability of his position. For, Mādhva tradition is firm in holding Vādirāja to have been a contemporary and disciple of the celebrated Vyāsarāja Svāmin (1478–1539). There are other evidences also—literary and epigraphic, which bid us assign Vādirāja definitely to the sixteenth century. Mr. Gode has drawn attention to two inscriptions in the name of Vādirāja and to certain very interesting historical references in the *Tīrthaprabandha* of Vādirāja himself—all of which go to prove that the author of the *Lakṣālaṁkāra* flourished wholly within the 16th century. I propose to indicate a few more facts and evidences in this direction, here.

I

The Genesis of the Sode Mutt and Vādirāja's place in it

Śrī Madhvācārya ordained eight monks to conduct worship at the temple of Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Udipi. These monks, in their turn, established apostlic lines of their own with the result that there came to be eight such branches which ultimately developed into the 'eight Mutts' (अष्टमठ) of Udipi. Each Mutt maintains a more or less accurate genealogy of its Pontiffs from Madhvācārya down to the present Svāmi. The names of these Mutts together with those of their first Pontiffs are as below :—

Table I

1 *Palimār*	2 *Adhamār*	3 *Kṛṣṇāpūr*	4 *Puttige*
1 Hṛṣīkeśa Tīrtha	Narasiṁha ,,	Janārdana ,, *Vāgīśa* ,,	Upendra ,
5 *Śirur*	6 *Sode*	7 *Kāṇūr*	8 *Pejāvar*
1 Vāmana ,,	1 Viṣṇu Tīrtha , 2 Vedavyāsa ,, , 3 Vedavedya ,, 4 Vedeśa ,, 5 Vāmana ,, 6 Vāsudeva ,, 7 Vedavyāsa , 8 Varāha ,, 9 Vedāṅga ,, 10 Viśvavandya,, 11 Viśva ,, 12 Viṭṭhala ,, 13 Varadarāja ,, 14 *Vāgīśa Tīrtha* 15 Vādirāja Tīrtha 16 Vedavedya,,	1 Rāma ,, 2 Raghunātha ,, 3 Raghupati ,, 4 Raghu-nandana 5 Yadu-nandana ,, 6 Viśvanātha ,, 7 Vedagarbha ,, 8 *Vāgīśa* ,,	Adhokṣaja

The first Pontiff of the *Sode Mutt* was Viṣṇu Tīrtha the younger brother of Madhvācārya. It was to this Mutt that Vādirāja, the author of the *Lakṣālaṁkāra,* belonged and it was over its affairs that he presided during his lifetime. From the preceptorial order of the Mutt given above, it will be seen that Vādirāja is the fifteenth from Madhvācārya and that Vāgīśa Tīrtha was his Guru and predecessor on the Pīṭha of the *Sode Mutt.* It is to this Vāgīśa Tīrtha that reference is made in the works of Vādirāja:—

वागीशतीर्थमुनिवर्य भवद्दयाम्बुयोगेन पावय मनोगृहमन्वहं मे ।

Tīrthaprabandha 1, 4.

मुनीशवागीशसुतः सुरम्यां हरेः कथां शंसति वादिराजः ।

(*Rukmiṇīśavijaya* 1. 8).

This Vāgīśa Tīrtha is the fourteenth–not the "Seventh successor from Ānandatīrtha," as stated by the late Dr. Bhandarkar and Prof. P. P. S. Sastri. The mistake is due to a confusion between Vāgīśa Tīrtha of the *Sode Mutt*–(the real Guru of Vādirāja) and another Vāgīśa Tīrtha who appears in a different line of succession form Madhva–and who was a common ancestor of both the present Rāghavendrasvāmi and Uttarādi Mutts. The preceptorial line, in this case, is as below:—

Table II

Śrī Madhvācārya

1 Padmanābha Tīrtha | 2 Narahari ,, | 3 Mādhava ,, | 4 Akṣobhya ,,

4 Akṣobhya ,, — 5 Jayatīrtha — 6 Vidyādhirāja ,,

6 Vidyādhirāja ,, — 7 Rājendra Tīrtha — 11 Vyāsarāja Svāmin (व्यासराजमठ)

6 Vidyādhirāja ,, — 7 Kavīndra ,, — 8 Vāgīśa ,, — 9 Rāmacandra ,,

9 Rāmacandra ,, — 10 Vibudhendra ,, — 16 Rāghavendra ,, (राघवेन्द्रस्वामिमठ)

9 Rāmacandra ,, — 10 Vidyānidhi ,, — 13 Raghūttama ,, (उत्तरादिमठ)

It will be seen from the above that in Mādhva hagiarchy there are altogether *four Vāgīśa Tīrthas*—three in the Udipi Mutts[1] and one in the "main-line" but *only one Vādirāja*. In assigning a Guru, therefore, to the latter, regard must be paid to probabilities, to the genealogical tables of the Mutts and to other historical data available. The name of Vādirāja's Saṁnyāsa-Guru was certainly Vāgīśa Tīrtha;[2] but seeing that he himself hails from the Sode Mutt[3] it is but necessary to assume that the

1 One in the *Kṛṣṇāpur*, one in the *Kāṇūr* and one in the *Sode **Mutt***.

2 Cf. मनीशवागीशसुतः सुरम्यां हरेः कथां शंसति वादिराजः ।

3 His tomb is at Sode. Vide also Vol. III, p. xii para 2, line 7, (**Introd.**) of Prof. P. P. S Sastri's ***Mahābhārata***.

Vāgīśa Tīrtha referred to by him as his Guru, must also be of the same Mutt. What is more, we have actually a Pontiff of that name immediately preceding Vādirāja on the list of the Mutt. Nay, we have even the tomb of Vāgīśa Tīrtha of the Sode Mutt at Udipi. These facts speak for themselves and further comment is needless. The theorists would not have gone all the way to Kavīndra Tīrtha and his line in search of a Vāgīśa Tīrtha and pitched upon his disciple,[1] had they been aware of the presence of a Vāgīśa nearer home in the Sode Mutt itself. It is obvious from their writings that they have not at all consulted the पाठिका of Vādirāja's own Mutt. The fact at least that Vādirāja succeeded *not* to the *Pītha* of Kavīndra Tīrtha but to that of Viṣṇu Tīrtha at Sode, ought to have opened their eyes to the truth that his Vāgīśa Tīrtha was a different person from theirs!

II *Traditional and Literary Evidences*

There are many stories current among the followers of Madhva presupposing Vādirāja's contemporaneity to Vyāsa Tīrtha (alias Vyāsarāja Svāmin).[2] A modern scholar may hesitate to accept them all as genuine. But even he must concede them an ultimate basis on facts. Anyway, tradition is not the only thing that we have in support of the belief in the contemporaneity of the two. There are interesting literary evidences also, of unimpeachable character :—

(1) In one of his *sulādis*, Purandara Dāsa,[3] the great Father

[1] Elsewhere Dr. Bhandarkar confound Vādirāja with Kavīndra. (*Collected Works* II. p. 7.) 1928.

[2] See *Vyāsavijaya* of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha for a story of the recovery of Vyāsamūrti-Sāligram by Vādirāja from Vyāsarāja, while on a visit to the latter. Pt. Srinivasabhatta of the *Dvaita Siddhānta Skt. College*, Udipi, recounts in his *Life of Vādirāja* (Kannaḍa) Udipi, 1924, how Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar showed marked favour to Vādirāja (p. 35.) :—

स्वासिंहासनमारोप्य संतुष्टोऽच्युत भूपतिः ।
श्रीवादिराजगुरवे बिरुदान्यददात्प्रभुः ॥

See also *Vyāsayogicaritam*, by Somanātha, Introd. pp. ciii and clxxiii, Bangalore Press, Bangalore city.

[3] There is little doubt that Purandara Dāsa flourished in the 16th century.

of Carnatic Music, eulogises his Guru Vyāsarāja Svāmin,[1] as the teacher of both Vādirāja and Vijayīndra Tīrtha :—

व्यासरायरचरणकमलदर्शन०

*　　*　　*

धरेयोळु विजयीन्द्र वादिराजरेम्ब

परमशिष्यर पडदु मेरेद कीरुतियाळ्ळि[2]

व्यासरायर०... ... ...

(2) The above is corroborated by the following verse in the *Śrīpādarājāṣṭakam*, a poem in praise of Śrīpādarāya alias Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the Vidyāguru[3] of Śrī Vyāsarāja Svāmin.

यच्छिष्यो व्यासराजः प्रतिभटजनतासव्रगर्वापहर्ता

कर्ता ग्रन्थत्रयस्य प्रतिभटविजयप्रोच्चशास्त्रोत्तमस्य ।

प्रख्याता यस्य शिष्याः जगति च विजयीन्द्राख्ययोगीन्द्रचन्द्र-

श्रीमद्वादिराजप्रमुखयतिवराः सोऽवतान्मां यतीन्द्रः ॥

[*Stotramahodadhi* p. 317. Belgaum] (III, 6).

(3) On p. 524 of his *Āravīḍu Dynasty*, Fr. Heras observes[4] :—

(a) "In the state of Ikkeri, we must mention Vādirāja a man of great erudition and author of several works. One of his

[1] In another of his *Sulādis* he says that Vyāsarāja gave him *upadeśa* and *mudrā* and also refers to his Master's temporary occupation of the throne of Vijayanagar (during the period of *Kuhuyoga* of Kṛṣṇadevarāya) and to the building of the Lake of Vyāsasamudra :

देशाधिपगे बन्द कुशङ्काळ कळदु

सिंहासनवनेरि मेरेदि जगवरिय

व्यासाब्धियन्नु कट्टिसि देशदोळगेल्ल

(Song no. 20, *Purandara Dāsara Sulādigalu*, Mādhvabhajana Mañjari, K. Bhandappa, Dharwar, 1932). The date of the grant of Vyāsasamudram to Vyāsarāja is 1525-26. (V. Rangacharya, Ins. Madras Presidency Vol. I No. 13 of 1905.)

[2] I am indebted to H. H. Sri Vidyāvārinidhi Tīrtha Śrīpādaṅgalavaru the present Svāmi of the Śrī Vyāsarāja Mutt for this reference.

[3] Cf. लक्ष्मीनारायणमुनीन्वन्दे विद्यागुरून्मम. (*Nyāyāmṛta* i, 6) Also colophon to his *Upādhikhaṇḍana Mandāramañjarī*.

[4] The remarks (a) and (b) are quoted also by T. A. Gopinatha Rau, *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 346.

pupils is mentioned in a grant of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka [1] of Ikkeri in the year 1614 A. D. "

The disciple referred to is Vedavedya Tīrtha of the Sode Mutt to whom the grant was made. This shows that Vādirāja must have died some years before 1614.

The same scholar writes :—

(b) Vādirāja Tīrtha was a costudent of Vijayīndra [2] Tīrtha under Vyāsarāya. Vādirāja also was a great controversialist and commentator on Mādhva works. "

III. *Internal Evidences from the works of Vādirāja.*

(4) In my papers on the date of Madhvācārya published in the *Annamalai University Journal* (Vols. iii, 2 and V. 1) I have shown that 1238-1317 A. D. is the only date that satisfies all the traditional, literary and epigraphic data available. In the light of this date, it will be obvious that 1339 A. D. would be *too early a date* for the demise of Vādirāja. For, it leaves barely an interval of 22 years between the demise of the two which is ludicrous seeing that we have to accommodate therein as many as *fifteen* [3] *Pontiffs* ! Even if the date arrived at by me is not accepted, we have another land-mark in the inscriptions of Narahari Tīrtha-one of the early disciples of Madhva. The last of these is dated 1293 A. D. Narahari was Pontiff for *seven* years and Padmanābha Tīrtha before him for *nine*. Even assuming that Narahari died in 1293—(which is not true, his actual date of demise being *Śrīmukha* 1333)—we get at 1277 as the year of Madhva's departure from

1 His date is 1582-1629 A. D. (*Ep. Car.* vii, p. 43, 1902.)

2 Inscriptions indicate that Vijayīndra was alive in 1577, 1580. He succeeded to the pīṭha of Surendra Tīrtha in 1539. There are grants to Vādirāja in 1571, 1582 and 1593. Those to Vyāsarāja cover the period 1511-1532. There is nothing to disprove the studentship of the two under Vyāsarāja since all of them flourished within the 16th century and Vyāsarāja predeceased his disciples. My friend Dr. R. Nagaraja Śarma tells me that he has heard it said that there is a refutation of a certain view in Vādirāja's *Yuktimallikā*, in the *Gurvāmoda* (c. on *Nyāyāmṛta*) of Vijayīndra Tīrtha with a comment that the attitude taken by Vādirāja is opposed to the views expressed by their common Guru, Vyāsarāja in the *Nyāyāmṛta*. This is yet to be verified.

3 Or even *nine* according to Prof. P. P. S. Sastri which has been shown to be erroneous.

the world. This again leaves us but an interval of *sixty-two* years which too, is preposterous for *fifteen* Pontiffs-especially when we bear in mind that the Udipi-Pontiffs are as a rule recruited direct from the Brahmacaryāśrama and are normally longer-lived and 'rule' longer than other Svāmis elsewhere.

The epigraphic material at our disposal, bearing on the Pontiffs of the Udipi Mutts, clearly enables us to work out an average of 18-20 years 'reign' for each Svāmi. An interval of 270 years at least is thus inevitable between Madhva and Vādirāja.

Thus from whichever point of view it is approached, the date of demise 1339 A. D. proposed for Vādirāja, collapses.

(5) The date of Jayatīrtha also, has immediate and important bearing on that of Vādirāja. Jayatīrtha is *the commentator par excellence* (टीकाचार्य) of the Dvaita System. His works were commented upon by many illustrious writers like Vyāsarāja Svāmin, Vijayīndra, Rāghavendra etc. Vādirāja too, has left a commentary on the *Tattvaprakāśikā* of Jayatīrtha,—called *Gurvarthadīpikā*,--of which a Ms. is preserved in the Mysore Government Oriental Mss. Library (C. 1842 दे० ff 125. p. 510), He also eulogises the services rendered by Jayatīrtha to the cause of Dvaita Vedānta in the following stanza of his *Tīrthaprabandha* :— (III, 18).

माध्वग्रन्थान्स्वबन्धूनिव सरसहृदालिङ्ग्य विज्ञातभावः
संयोज्यालंकृताभिः स्वसहजमतिसंभूतवाग्भिर्वधूभिः ।
कृत्वान्याश्चक्रीश्च दासीः बुधहृदयगृहं प्रौढवृत्तीश्च वृत्ती-
र्दत्त्वान्योन्याभियोगं जयमुनिरसकृद्वीक्ष्य रेमे कृतार्थः ॥

With the help of the geneo-chronological tables of the Mutts which give the year of Jayatīrtha's demise as *Vibhava*, we can easily fix his Pontifical rule between 1365-88 A. D.—if 1238-1317 is admitted as the correct date of Madhva. Even apart from that, it would be clear from the passage in the *Mahābhārata-Tātparya-nirṇaya* [1] of Madhva himself that his date of birth *cannot be pushed*

[1] चतुःसहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।
जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुः स भीमो दैत्यैर्निगूढं हरितत्त्वमाह ॥ (xxxii, 131)

The verse fixes 4300 Kali = 1199-1200 A. D. as the *terminus ad quem* of the Ācārya's birth. No date earlier than 1238 squares with the requirements of the Ins. of Narhari Tīrtha.

farther back than 1200 A. D. Even the most bureaucratic estimate, must allow the Ācārya a life of fifty years at least, on earth. This would place the departure of Madhva, (hypothetically) in 1250. His four disciples: Padmanābha, Narahari, Mādhava, and Akṣobhya, 'ruled' for 48 years in all—and Jayatīrtha who succeeded Akṣobhya for 23 years. The interval between the departures of Madhva and Jayatīrtha is thus *seventy-one* (71) years. According to this calculation, Jayatīrtha's demise must have taken place in 1321 A. D. If that were so, the demise of Vādirāja—who has not only commented on a work of Jayatīrtha, but is also, *according to Prof. P. P. S. Sastri*, his great-great-grand-disciple (through Vāgīśa Tīrtha of Table II)—could not have occurred so soon as within 18 years after Jayatīrtha!! Vādirāja would then be a contemporary of Jayatīrtha himself which is unthinkable.

(6) In the last verse of the *Śrīpādarājaṣaṭkam*[1] composed by him, Vādirāja acknowledges Vyāsatīrtha as his Guru :—

श्रीपादराजगुणवर्णनपद्यषट्कं
श्रीव्यासराजयतिशिष्यगणर्षभेण ।
श्रीवादिराजयतिना रचितं हयास्य-
स्तेनादरेण पठतां प्रकरोत्यभीष्टम् ॥ (verse 7)

(7) Another reference to Śrīpādarāya and Vyāsarāya is to be found in one of the songs[2] of Vādirāja :—

श्रीपादरायरदिव्य श्रीपादव भजिसुवे०
व्यासरायरिगे विद्याभ्यास माडिसुव
स्वर्णवर्णतीर्थरसुत श्रीपादराय[3]

(*Vādirājara Kīrtanegaḷu*, Udipi, p. 37, song 65).

1 This is different from the *Śrīpādarājāṣṭakam* already cited. It is in the Aśvadhāṭī metre which is characteristic of Vādirāja. Its alliterative style also is reminiscent of the author's *Daśāvatāra stotra*, *Yuktimallikā*, *Sarasabhāratī* etc. The poem was published as part of a lecture on the Life of Vyāsarāja, delivered before a meeting of the *Bhāratīya Mādhva Unnati-sādhaka Saṅgha* (Power Printing Press, Chickpet, Bangalore City, 1927).

2 Vādirāja was not only a commentator and controversialist but also a devout Dāsa in the line of famous Dāsas. The Dāsas composed devotional songs in Kannaḍa-many of which have been published.

3 I am indebted to my friend Principal M. Ramacandra Rau, M. A. of the D. S. Sanskrit College, Udipi, for this reference.

IV. *Epigraphic Evidences*

(8) At Sode,[1] the original seat of the Mutt of Vādirāja, is a temple of Trivikrama, built and consecrated by Vādirāja himself. This fact is referred to in the following verse of his *Tīrtha prabandha* (1. 76):—

त्रिविक्रमं रम्यगदारिशङ्खसरोजमालाधरमिन्दुवर्णम् ।
मनोहराङ्गं यतिवादिराजप्रतिष्ठितं नौमि सदा प्रसन्नम् ॥

A stone inscription at the temple gives Śaka 1504 *Citrabhānu* (वैशाख शुद्ध पूर्णिमा) corresponding to 1582 A. D. as the year of its consecration.

Eleven years later, Arasappa Nāyaka, Chief of Sode, (1555-98) made Vādirāja grants for the upkeep of worship at the temple. The year of this grant is Śaka 1515 *Vijaya* (कार्तिकशुद्ध पूर्णिमा) = 1593 A. D. It is mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. xiv, pt. 2 *Kanara* pp. 345-48, and by Buchanan in his *Travels*. These two inscriptions prove that Vādirāja was in flesh and blood in the years 1582 and 1593.[2] His demise therefore, must have taken place only later. This agrees perfectly with the following चरमश्लोक commemorating the demise of Vādirāja still preserved in the Sode Mutt:—

स्वस्ति श्रीजयशालिवाहनशके सार्धात्सहस्रात्परं
द्वाविंशे शरदां गते प्रभवति श्रीशार्वरीवत्सरे ।
मासे फाल्गुनके सितेतरतृतीयायां तिथौ विद्दिने
स्वातीहर्षणसंयुते हरिपदं श्रीवादिराजो गतः ॥

The verse gives 1600 A. D. as the date of Vādirāja's demise which agrees with other epigraphic and literary data brought together.

(9) Two other inscriptions from the Kṛṣṇa temple at Udipi also support this date. They have been cited by Mr. Gode; but I shall refer to them again as their bearing upon the Paryāya System has not been made clear by him. The details are as below :—

1 Sonda or Soonde as it is officially designated. It is a small village situated about ten miles north of Sirsi, in the Karwar Dt. of the Bombay Presidency (North Canara).

2 And in 1571 A. D. as shown by Mr. Gode, (*Ep. Car.* VII, Sb, 55, p. 10.).

(a) " On another stone slab built into the northern wall of the Kṛṣṇamaṭha–A record of the Vijayanagar king Vīra–Veṅkaṭapatī I recording in Śaka 1536 = 1614 A. D. *Pramādin*, the grant of the village of *Hūvinakere* [1] by Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keḷadī *while Vedavedya Tīrtha*, pupil of Vādirāja Tīrtha *was the priest of the Temple.* " [2] [Italics mine].

(Rangacharya : *Ins. of Madras Presidency* Vol. 2, pp. 870–71).

(b) " A Canarese Ins. on another stone slab built into the same wall.–A record in Śaka 1535=1613 A. D. *Pramādin*, mentioning Vādirājatīrtha *and his pupil* and providing for offerings. " (No. 235, 114 of 1901).

The real date of Vādirāja's demise must therefore be after 1593 A. D. Given the date of his successor's पर्याय as 1614, we can easily fix 1596–97 or nearabout, as the last पर्याय of Vādirāja [3]. His demise consequently, must have occurred after that date–which again agrees with the date given in the चरमश्लोक–viz. 1600. A. D.

Tradition accords Vādirāja a life of 120 years. However that may be, there is no doubt that he was alive between 1539 [4]–and 1597, [5] and flourished entirely within the sixteenth century.

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri–following Dr. Bhandarkar–has thus made *a mistake of nearly three centuries* in the date of Vādirāja. It is very doubtful therefore if his would yet be the earliest dated or datable commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

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1 Huvinakere (near Kumbhāsi) was the native village of Vādirāja.

2 i. e. when he was the Officiating Priest or पर्यायस्वामी– as the Ins. puts it—वेदवेद्यतीर्थ पूज्यपादंगळु तम्म पूजापर्यायदल्लि । पर्याय is a system of rotation of office of chief priest, in force at Udipi whereby the eight svāmis of the eight Mutts officiate in turn each for two years, as Head Priest. It is clear from the above Ins. that in 1614 Vādirāja was no more, and that his successor Vedavedya Tīrtha was then the Svāmi of the Sode Mutt whose पर्याय " turn " had come in 1614 or so. It is deducible from this that 1596–97 must have been the last पर्याय of Vādirāja Svāmi.

3 As each Mutt gets its turn once in sixteen years.

4 The year of Vyāsarāya's demise.

5 The year of his last पर्याय as deduced from the Ins. of 1614.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have been able to gather that there are also the following songs of early Dāsas in support of Vādirāja's having been a disciple of Vyāsarāja Svāmin :—

(10) (a) व्यासरायर स्मारिसिरो ०
यन्त्रोद्धारकन प्रतिष्ठिसि विजयीन्द्र–सन्तत–
वादिराज गोविन्द पुरन्दर इन्तु शिष्यरन्न पडदुप–
देशिसि मन्त्रसिद्धियन्नु माडि × × ×
व्यासान्धियन्नु बिगदु × × ×
मध्ववल्लभ नम्म विजयविट्ठलपादद्वय भकुतियनित्य ०
व्यासरायर स्मारिसिरो ०

(Vijaya Dāsa)

(b) पल्लवि सन्तैसु तव पाद सानन्द वन्नु ०
चन्द्रिकाचार्यरल्लि शिष्यरेन्दनिसि आ-
नन्ददिन्दाल्लि व्यासप्रतीकवन्नु
तन्दु निर्भयदि सर्वत्ररलि मेरदि यो-
गीन्द्र दण्डकाषाय धरिसि सुगुणसान्द्र
सन्माहिम वेणुगोपाल विट्ठल × × ×

[Timmanna Dāsa disciple of (a)]

(c) एदुरारो गुरुवे समरारो ०
श्रीदविट्ठल गतिप्रियद श्रीपादरायराल्लि
ओदि ग्रन्थगळ वादिराजाविजयीन्द्र प्रमुखारिगं
आदरदलि पाठपेळ्ळातेप्पगं
एदुरारो गुरुवे ०

[Śrīda Vitthala disciple of Jagannātha Dāsaru]

MISCELLANEA

LITERARY NOTES*

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M. A., Ph. D.

X

The B. O. R. I. Ms. 'Bharataśāstra grantha.'

The B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 46 of 1916-18 bears the name Bharataśāstra grantha, evdently a conjectured name given by somebody. I perused the Ms some years back and from the identity of quotations found in this Ms with those found in the Śrutirañjinīvyākhyā on the Gītagovinda by Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara and from the reference by the author in both to a Prasannarāghavavyākhyā of his, I concluded that the B. O. R. I. Bharataśāstra grantha was a Nāṭya work of Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara. This I wrote in an article of mine on later Saṁgīta literature in the Journal of the Madras Music Academy, Vol. IV. p. 56, and on the basis of a letter of mine on this subject, Mr. P. K. Gode wrote a note on the identity of this B. O. R. I. Ms in the Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XV, pp. 240-242. Earlier, Mr. Manmohan Ghosh had mentioned this Ms in the Introduction to his edition of Nandikeśvara's Abhinayadarpaṇa, pp XIX-XX, as appearing to be a curious compilation of passages from the works quoted in it and certain unmentioned sources like Daṇḍin and Nandikeśvara. Immediately after the appearance of Mr. Gode's note. Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi informed me that as a matter of fact the curious Bharataśāstra grantha in the B. O. R. I. was but a fragment of Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara's Śrutirañjanī itself. Subsequently, I got the B. O. R. I. Ms and found that Mr. M. R. Kavi's information was fact. I compared the Ms with the text of the Śrutirañjanī, of which there are many Mss in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, and have satisfied myself that this Bharataśāstra grantha is a fragment of a very irregular nature

* Continued from Annals of B. O. R. I. Vol. XVI. pp. 129-142.

of the Śrutirañjanī, bearing a name which somebody must have given on finding the indefiniteness and irregular nature of the Ms in which words and verses on subjects of the Bharataśāstra occur. Only one or two Pratīkas are discoverable to show that it is a commentary on the Gītagovinda.

Another fact which emerged out of this examintion of the B. O. R. I. Ms is this: The Ms bears on the top of first page the number "7-6-8". What is this? It is the Shelf Number of a Ms in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library which is described in the Descriptive Catalogue under no. 12993 and under the title 'Tālalakṣaṇa'. B. O. R. I. 40 of 1916-18 and Madras Descriptive Catalogue 12933 are identical. A comparison proves this, though the description given in the Madras Catalogue does not show this, being somewhat defective The beginning extracted in the Madras Catalogue refers to the matter towards the end of page two of the B. O. R. I. Ms. In both Mss, there are verses on Tāla at the end with a Telgu gloss: the Telgu gloss is omitted in the extracts given in the Madras Catalogue.

Madras 12994 is described in the catalogue in the words "same work as above", i. e. 12993. Really it is the same as Madras 12992. Tālalakṣaṇa attributed to Kohala. The B. O. R. I. Ms and Madras 12993 give among the loose verses on Tāla at the end the verse विघ्नं लोकगुरुं etc. which is the opening verse of Madras 12992 which is the same as Madras 12994 and India Office, Eggeling, 1126, 1127.

Thus, B. O. R. I. 40 of 1916-18 is an irregular fragment of Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara's Śrutirañjanī on the Gītagovinda, with some stray verses on Tāla with Telgu gloss at its end and must have been supplied from Madras The older members on the staff of the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library are able to identify the hand also in the B. O. R. I. Ms.

Lakṣmīdhara's works

There are numerous Mss of Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara's Śrutirañjanī vyākhyā on the Gītagovinda, two noteworthy features of the Mss. being the considerable differences in readings[1] and

1 There are longer and shorter recensions.

the attribution of its authorship to Lakṣmīdhara's patron, king Tirumala, in certain Mss. Seshagiri Sastri's Report, II, Madras, pp. 63–65, gives a list of authors and works cited in the Śrutirañjanī and also the other works of Lakṣmīdhara or Lakṣmaṇa. K. P. Trivedi also mentions the several works of Lakṣmaṇa or Lakṣmīdhara in his introduction to Lakṣmīdhara's Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā in the Bombay Skr. Series (LXXI.). (Intro. pp. 14–17). This Lakṣmaṇa became a Saṁnyāsin in after-life and was then known as Rāmānandāśramin. The works written by this writer are : The Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā, the *Svaramañjarī*, Prasannarāghavavyākhyā, Gītagovindavyākhyā–Śrutirañjanī and Anargharāghavavyākhyā. The last was written by him in his Saṁnyāsāśrama. (Tanjore Catalogue, P. P. S. Vol. VIII., pp. 3322–5). In the Śrutirañjanī, he quotes a Kāvya of his also ; but of that we do not know the name. (Śeshagiri Sastri, Report II, pp. 63, 209–211). For some of his works, see also Hultzsch, Reports Skr. Mss in S. India, III, Intro. pp. VIII–IX.[1]

Dr. S. K. De gives on p. 309 of Vol. I. of his Skr. Poetics (1) Alaṁkāramuktāvalī (Auf. I 32^{a}) and (2) Rasamañjarī cited by himself in his commentary on the Gītagovinda as two works of Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara. The latter is evidently a mistake for the Svaramañjarī mentioned as a work of Lakṣmīdhara by himself. See Seshagiri Sastri, Report II. pp. 64 and 203. It is also doubtful if Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara ever wrote an Alaṁkāramuktāvalī. Aufrecht I. 32^{a} mentions an Alaṁkāramuktāvalī by a Lakṣmīdhara, referring us to K. 98 and B. 3,44. On I. p. 538^{a}. Aufrecht mentions this Lakṣmīdhara separately from the author of the Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā. There is an Alaṁkāramuktāvalī by Viśveśvara found in many Catalogues and available in print also. The father of this Viśveśvara is a Lakṣmīdhara who is praised both at the beginning and end of the work. It is likely Bühler and Kielhorn have entered Viśveśvara's Alaṁkāramuktāvalī as Lakṣmīdhara's and Dr. De has mistaken that Lakṣmīdhara for the Cerukūri writer. There is yet a third Lakṣmīdhara, son of Nṛsiṁha and pupil of Anantānanda Raghunātha who wrote the

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1 Father Heras says in his Aravidu Dynasty, I, p. 517, that Lakṣmīdhara wrote the Anargharāgha a !

Amṛtataraṅgiṇī, commentary on the Bhāgavata, the Advaitamakaranda and the Bhagavannāmakaumudī. The note at the end of the Ms of the Bhagavannāmakaumudī in the Tanjore P. P. S. Cat., XIV. p. 6385, identifying this Lakṣmīdhara with the Cerukūri namesake is wrong.

XI

Itihāsottama

Aufrecht gives the following references to this work: Vol. I. 58b—Taylor I, 302. Oppert 2281. II, 5665. Vols. II and III of the Catalogus Catalogorum contain no notice of any Ms. of this work.

Taylor I, 302 gives the name wrongly as Itihāsasamuccaya, the name of another work of a similar nature. Aufrecht has corrected and entered it as Itihāsottama and the summary of contents given by Taylor also proves that the Ms. described by him is Itihāsottama and not Itihāsasamuccaya. Taylor has these remarks on the nature of the work : ' A discourse between Bhṛgu and Śaunaka Ṛṣi, in the manner of the Purāṇas. * * * * the bearing of the whole is on the glory of Viṣṇu.

Some of the contents are— * * * * * various like matters : each having the illustration of a tale. The whole is like a Purāṇam, perhaps gatherings from several. 1st to 34th adhyāya, and so far complete. 3 leaves on the nature of Vaiṣnava worship seem added. '

Some of the contents indicated by Taylor are : duties of Guru and Śiṣya, Viṣṇu bhakti, Tapas, gift of food, pilgrimage, chastity, Karma, Atithisatkāra, Saṁnyāsa, Vairāgya, Anugamana, Varṇadharmas, Āśramadharmas.

In both instances, Oppert enters Itihāsottama as belonging to ' Dharma ', by subject.

There is a Ms. of the Itihāsottama described by Dr. A. B. Keith in Vol. II. Pt. i of his IO catalogue, under number 6080. Dr. Keith says of it : ' The Itihāsottama, a collection of tales, here twenty-five in number, illustrating the greatness of Viṣṇu, in the form of a dialogue between Śaunaka and Bhṛgu. ' ' For this work see Taylor, Catal., i. 302, who analyses it under the incorrect title

Itihāsasamuccaya ; Madras Catal., iv. 1351, 1352, may be this work, but it is presumably rather a mere variant of the text connected with the Mahābhārata..

In the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, there are four Mss. of the Itihāsottama, Descriptive Catalogue numbers 1978, 14286 (incomplete), 15686 (complete except for small lacunae in the last three pages) and M. 54–15 which last is yet undescribed. It is to the first of these, D. 1978 (iv. pp. 1351–2), that Dr. Keith refers. The descriptive note in the Catalogue says: 'complete in 34 Adhyāyas. This is another compilation from the Mahābhārata similar to Itihāsasamuccaya' (which is described in this catalogue under the immediately preceding four numbers). D. 14286 described in Vol. XXV–Supplemental, p. 9596, is a fragment of the same work containing the 19th (without beginning) to a part of the 26th Adhyāya. D. 15686 described in Vol. XXVII (not yet issued) p. 10347, is complete except for some small gaps towards the very end. M. 54–15 which has not yet been described is a complete Ms.

Dr. Keith says that the first-mentioned Madras Ms is presumably rather a mere variant of the text connected with the Mahābhārata. To this presumption, he is led by the incorrect information supplied by the descriptive note at the top of the extracts in the Madras Catalogue which says that this Itihāsottama is another compilation from the Mahābhārata similar to the Itihāsasamuccaya. The Itihāsottama is not a compilation from the Mahābhārata only, like the Itihāsasamuccaya. The Madras Ms. and the IO Ms. described by Dr. Keith are identical. The work in full contains 34 chapters. The IO Ms. stops with the 25th chapter and the post-colophon words 'समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः' and the scribe's verse at the end of the IO Ms. are wrong.

The IO Ms. begins with the general benedictory verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य which is absent in the Madras Mss The second verse of the IO Ms. शौनकस्तु etc. is the sixteenth verse (D. 15686, Paper, Devanāgarī, was examined) of the Madras Ms which has additional verses in the beginning. The last colophon extracted by Dr. Keith runs thus: इति श्री इतिहासोत्तमे भृगुशौनकसंवादे चित्रमालोपाख्यानं

नाम पञ्चविंशोऽध्यायः । This colophon occurs at the end of Ch. 25 of D. 15686, Mad. Ms., p. 200. Ch. 25 of the Mad. Ms. also deals with Citramālā's story. Thus, the Madras Ms. called Itihāsottama is not a variant of the Itihāsasamuccaya.

The following is an analysis of the work: Ch. 1 is introductory. Śaunaka approaches Bhṛgu and asks him to speak of the means to attain Niśśreyasa, which will not be a bliss that will be short-lived as the one attained by mere heaven-giving Dharmas. Śaunaka enlightens Bhṛgu on Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti, or Phalasaṁnyāsa in doing Karma and on the Yamas and Niyamas. Towards the end of the ch., the importance of the Guru is stressed upon. Ch. II. The greatness of the Guru and his worship by the Śiṣyas. This is illustrated by a story of how Sumati, Kapila and other pupils attained to high state by worshipping and serving their preceptor, sage Gautama. Chs. III and IV narrate the story of Vikukṣi to point out how even the sinner is saved. Ch. V—Ahiṁsā, the greatest of all Dharmas and its illustration with the story of Śākala, a Brahman of Indraprastha. Ch. VI. Tapas and its greatness; illustration by the story of sage Devala and the Gandharva Hūhū, which forms the prelude to the well-known Gajendramokṣa story. Ch. VII. The greatness of giving water; story of Śilavatī and Yama. Ch. VIII. Tīrthayātrā and Annadāna compared; the latter praised; the story of Satyajit and Satyaketu to illustrate the superiority of Annadāna. Ch. IX. Pātivratya and the story of Śvetavatī and her husband Somapa. Ch. X. Grief and family worry; the story of a Siddha removing the grief of Indragupta bemoaning his wife's loss. Ch. XI. Atithipūjā, the chief duty of the householder; the story of king Dilīpa and Yama disguised as a hunter. Ch. XII. Abhayadāna and Sādhusaṁvāda; the story of Raghu and a Rākṣasa. Ch. XIII. Evils of wealth and the greatness of salvation and wisdom. No illustrative story. Ch. XIV. How to get Virakti in Saṁsāra? Story of Mārkaṇḍeya and a Brahman. Ch. XV. Release from Naraka by Harināmasaṁkīrtana; story of Puṣkala's dialogue with the men in charge of Hell. Ch. XVI. Stealing a Brahman's property the worst sin; story of a Brahmarākṣasa and a Brahman. Ch. XVII. On creation, creator and the universe; the worship of the creator;

Viṣṇu's explanation of the process creation to Brahmā. Ch. XVIII. Mokṣamārga elaborated, as expounded by the young Satyadhanā to her mother. Ch. XIX. Nature of Māyā and the means to overcome it, as expounded by Viṣṇu to Nārada. Ch. XX. The fruit of worshipping Viṣṇu, as taught by Śiva to Mārkaṇḍeya. Ch. XXI. Bhūmidāna and its greatness: the sin of stealing land: the story of king Śatajit. Chs. XXII–XXIII. Viṣṇubhaktimāhātmya and the story of Viṣṇumitra. Ch. XXIV. Who is dear to Viṣṇu? The story of the neglected queen Kāntimatī and her worship of Viṣṇubhaktas. Ch. XXV. On Bhakta, Bhakti and the story of a woman-devotee, Citramālā. (Here Keith's IO Ms. stops). Ch. XXVI. The path of salvation for erring women; the story of Suśobhanā. Ch. XXVII. The path of salvation for the erring man; Ajāmila's story. Ch. XXVIII. On the fruit of Dāna according to Deśa, Kāla, Pātra, Dravya and Bhāva; the story of Maudgalya. Ch. XXIX. How the sinner, demon Paraśu attained salvation by contemplating on Viṣṇu. Ch. XXX. Satī Anugamana; story of Gabhastinī, wife of Dadhīci. Ch. XXXI. 'Māghamāsasnāna' as narrated by Kṛṣṇa to Yudhiṣṭhira with the story of the king Śūrasena of Pratiṣṭhāna. Ch. XXXII. Śrāddha and its Phala. Garga's exposition of Kauśika's story to his pupils. Ch. XXXIII. The greatness of the Gṛhasthāśrama; story of king Vṛṣādarviḥ. Ch. XXXIV. Anukramaṇī of the 33 Chs. and conclusion.

In D. 15868 alone, there is a half-finished post-colophon list of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas.

The contents of this work are derived from various Purāṇas and not from the Mahābhārata only. The work is in the words of the author himself who has taken the matter from the Purāṇas and has given them his own expression, though here and there, old verses and words and phrases of the originals are seen. As for example Ajāmila story in this work and the same in the Bhāgavata. The work is of the same nature as the Itihāsasamuccaya, with a few common subjects, the illustrative stories of which however differ. [1] The work is not mainly on Viṣṇu's greatness.

[1] Most of the illustrative stories in the Itihāsottama are from sources other than the Mahābhārata.

There is a Ms. of the Itihāsottama in the Adyar Library, Adyar Catalogue, I. p. 135a, and there are two incomplete and one complete Ms. of it in the Mysore Oriental Library (Mysore Cat. I, p. 147).

XII

Asahāya's commentaries on the Smṛtis of Śaṅkha and Likhita

In the list of authors on Dharmaśāstra given at the end of his History of Dharmaśāstra, I, Mr. P. V. Kane says of Asahāya: "About 700–750 A. D.; author of Bhāṣya on Nāradasmṛti, of Bhāṣya on Gautamadharmasūtra and probably of commentary on Manusmṛti." (p. 680[b]). Asahāya and the above mentioned works of his are noticed by Mr. Kane in section 58.

To these three commentaries of Asahāya, we have to add now commentaries of his on the Smṛtis of Śaṅkha and Likhita. There is a discussion on Saṁnyāsins in the Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī of Ānandānubhava, pupil of Nārāyaṇajyotis (Madras Ms. R. 5505) in which a number of Smṛti texts are quoted. Asahāya is one of the writers quoted here.

p. 160 : " यत्तु विकल्पवाक्येषु असहायेन वाशब्दः समुच्चयार्थ इति व्याख्यातं etc. "

Commenting on this, Ānandagiri says :

" शङ्खलिखितस्मृत्योः व्याख्याता कश्चिदसहायनामा समस्ति । तदीयमतमुत्थापयति–यत्त्विति । स खल्वेवमाह स्म–विकल्पवाक्येषु सर्वत्र वाशब्दश्चार्थे पठित्वा ' मुण्डःशिखी च भवेत् ' इत्यर्थो गृह्यत इति । तत्र वाशब्दस्य विकल्पवाचितया प्रसिद्धतरस्य चार्थे पठनं मान्द्यमात्रनिबन्धनम् । "

p. 116. Madras Ms. R. 4459.

Since Ānandagiri says '—स्मृत्योर्व्याख्याता,' we may take Asahāya as having written two commentaries on the two texts ascribed separately to Śaṅkha and Likhita. Mr. P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra does not mention Asahāya as having commented on Śaṅkha and Likhita; but it speaks of an anonymous Bhāṣya on Śaṅkhalikhita on pp. 77 and 317.

XIII

Kāśīśvara (Rājā), a Smṛti writer

In the same above-mentioned context[1] in his Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī, Ānandānubhava quotes a Rājā :

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[1] The controversy here is with Bhāskara and his followers. Ānandānubhava informs us here that there is a story that, because of Bhāskara's hatred of the Paramahaṁsas, the Kasmirian Pandits rejected Bhāskara's work, despite his erudition (p. 153. Mad. Ms.) and that Bhāskara was a Karṇāṭaka (लटकः कर्णाटकवटुः pp. 162–3. Mad. Ms.).

" यस्तु राज्ञा अनुल्लिखितत्वात् अस्मृतित्वप्रलापः, न स साधुः । लिखितानि हि स्मृतिमहार्णवे[1] ' मुण्डः शिखी वा ' इत्यादीनि * * * *
न हि सर्वं भारतादिवाक्यं राज्ञा लिखितम् * * * *
राज्ञा अलेखनं च तन्नियुक्तग्रन्थकर्तृद्वेषादप्युपपद्यते । तच्छूद्रत्वं धार्मिकत्वं च असिद्धं शूद्रसेवया व्याख्यातम् । "

p. 163. Madras Ms.

From this we learn also that a court poet wrote the Smṛti work for the king. Who is this Śūdra king in whose name a Smṛti work is current ? Commenting on this passage, Ānandagiri says :

" राज्ञा अलिखितत्वात् शाक्यवाक्यवद् इत्याशङ्क्याह–यस्त्विति । विमतानि च स्मृतिवाक्यानि, एकदण्डविषयत्वे सति काशीश्वरेण अलिखितत्वात् etc. etc.

p. 124. Mad. Ms.

Neither as Rājā nor as Kāśīśvara is this writer found in Mr. P. V. Kane's list of Dharmaśāstra writers.

XIV

Mahānibandhana, a commentary on the Mānava–Dharma–Śāstra by Lolla Lakṣmīdhara

In the long and informing colophon on Lolla Lakṣmīdhara and his ancestors found at the end of Lakṣmīdhara's commentary on the Saundaryalaharī, we are told that Lolla Lakṣmīdhara wrote a Ṭīkā on the Manusmṛti, called the Mahānibandhana.

" —महानिबन्धनाख्यमानवधर्मशास्त्रटीका— "

p. 229. Mysore Govt. Ori. Lib. Series. Bib. Sansk. XI.

This commentary on Manu is not mentioned in Mr. P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra. I.

Other Smṛti works of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara

Lakṣmīdhara has contributed to every branch of Sanskrit Literature, as this terminal colophon as well as the verses at the beginning and the end of his Saundaryalaharīvyākhyā show. Besides the above-noticed commentary on the Manusmṛti, Lakṣmīdhara has written many Smṛti works, one of which the colophon fortunately mentions. It is Sarasvatīvilāsa.

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1 On the Smṛtimahārṇava, see Kane, pp. 308, 602[b] and 670[b].

" —सरस्वतीविलासाद्यनेकस्मृतिनिबन्धन— "

In the same colophon, Lakṣmīdhara is described as having been patronised by Gajapativīrarudra—आश्रयीकृतगजपतिवीररुद्र. This Gajapativīrarudra is none else except the king in whose name the Sarasvatīvilāsa is current. It is significant that the same Mangala Śloka वन्दामहे etc. occurs at the beginning of both the Sarasvatīvilāsa and the Saundaryalaharīvyākhyā. Thus there does not seem to be any doubt regarding the Sarasvatīvilāsa being a work of Lolla Lakṣmīdhara. Mr. P. V. Kane however takes king Pratāparudradeva himself as its author. (See Section 100, His. Dha. Śas.).[1]

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1 See also p. VII. of the Introduction to the Mysore Edn. of Saundaryalaharīvyākhyā where this question of the authorship of the Sarasvatīvilāsa is discussed ; see also Pathak Com. Vol. p. 402, fn. 1 and P. K. Gode on the authorship of the Sarasvatīvilāsa in the Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II, pp. 233-4, where Lolla Lakṣmīdhara is proved as the author.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

No. XXXVI

EXACT DATE OF AMARAKĪRTI, THE AUTHOR OF A COMMENTARY ON THE ṚTUSAṀHĀRA OF KĀLIDĀSA — A. D. 1593

In my note [1] on "*A commentary on the Ṛtusaṁhāra of Kālidāsa by Amarakīrtisūri*" I drew the attention of scholars to the only Ms of this commentary available in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, viz. No. 372 of 1887-91. I tried also to fix the probable limits for the date of the author of this commentary viz. 1550 and 1600 A. D and tentatively assigned Amarakīrti to the 16th century.

The evidence for the limits of Amarakīrti's date recorded by me was more probable than direct but since my note was published I have come across the following evidence regarding Amarakīrti's date which corroborates the limits fixed by me tentatively :—

In the *Dictionary of Jain Biography* [2] the following entry has been recorded regarding Amarakīrti—

"*Amarakīrti*—Under him a Ms of Jinadatta's *Vivekavilāsa* was transcribed in Vik. *Saṁ. 1649–Saṁvat 1649*[3] varṣe *bhādrapada māse Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe, navamyām tithau, Somadine* likhitoyam granthaḥ. Śrī.........Nāgapurīya tapa gacchā diraga bha. Śrī Śrī 3 Harṣakīrtisūri. Śrī Śrī 3 *Amarakīrti* vijaya rājyapaṁ. Śrī Śrī Rāja-

[1] *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 234-236.

[2] *A Dictionary of Jain Biography* (Part I-A) compiled by Umrao Singh Tank, B. A., LL. B., Pub. by The Central Jain Publishing House, Arrah, 1917, p. 55.

[3] Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 387—The date of the Christian era corresponding to this date would be *Monday, 18th September 1592.*

kīrtiḥ tat-śiṣya likhitam Muni Rāmakīrtiḥ Śrī *Ahipura*-madhye. *Akabbara*(*Akbar*)rājye.

Ref.—*Des. Cat. Cal. Sans. Coll.* XI, p. 332 ".

The Ms referred to in the above entry is deposited in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It was copied in the year Saṁvat 1649 = A. D. 1592 (18th September) at *Ahipura* (= modern Nagpur) when *Amarakīrti* was at the head of the *Nāgapura tapāgaccha* during the reign of the Emperor Akbar.

The above particulars furnished by the Ms. of the *Vivekavilāsa* are quite definite as regards time and place of the copy in question. We shall now try to identify the Amarakīrti mentioned in the colophon of the Ms of the *Vivekavilāsa* with the Amarakīrti, the author of the commentary on the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, the only Ms of which is available in the Govt. Ms. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The B. O. R. I. Ms. definitely ascribes the authorship of the commentary to Amarakīrti (" अमरकीर्तिविनिर्म्मि[ता]यां......... काव्यवृत्तौ सर्गोऽजनि प्रथम एष नृपाभिरम्यः") and this Amarakīrti is further stated to be the head of the Nāgapur tapogaṇa (" नागपुरीयतपोगणभूपश्रीअमरकीर्तिविह(हि)तायां ऋतुवर्णनस्य वृत्तौ "). We are not aware of any other Amarakīrti acting as the head of Nāgapura tapāgaccha between A. D. 1550 and 1600 and hence will be justified in identifying the author of the commentary on the Ṛtusaṁhāra with his namesake under whom the Ms of the *Vivekavilāsa* was copied at Nāgapur in Saṁ 1649 i. e. *A. D. 1592* during Akbar's reign[1] A. D. 1556–1605).

If our identification of the two Amarakīrti's is accepted we shall have to assign the author of the commentary on the *Ṛtusaṁhāra* to the last quarter of the 16th century.

The *Dictionary of Jain Biography* mentions two other namesakes of Amarakīrti : (1) " A Dig. Bhaṭṭāraka author of the *Svayambhū-Sahasranāma-Stotraṭīkā* " and (2) " the Author of

1 Akbar patronised the Jaina learned men. In A. D. 1582 he placed Hīravijaya Sūri in the first division of the order of the Learned. In 1592 he conferred the title of yugapradhāṇa on Jinacandra Sūri. An inscription of Saṁvat 1651–52 (A. D. 1594–95) at Aṇhilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa describes the interview between Akbar and Jinacandra Sūri (See *Dict. of Jain Biography* pp. 37–38).

a commentary on Ratnaśekharasūri's *Sambodha-sitteri.* I have not examined the question of the chronology of these two authors and hence am unable to say anything about it in the present note.

The third namesake of our Amarakīrti not recorded by the *Dictionary of Jain Biography* has been brought to our notice by Prof. Hiralal[1] of Amraoti. He is distinct in all particulars of time and place from our Amarakīrti of the Nāgapura tapāgaccha. He belongs to the "*Māthura Sangha*" and the line of spiritual preceptors as recorded by Prof. Hiralal is as follows :— "अमित-गति-शान्तिसेन-अमरसेन-श्रीषेण-चन्द्रकीर्ति-**अमरकीर्ति**." He completed his work षट्कर्मोपदेश in *apabhraṁśa* in "संवत् १२४७, भाद्रपद मास, द्वितीय (शुक्ल ?)पक्ष, १४ तिथि, गुरुवार" when कृष्णनरेंद्र son of वंदिग्गदेव of the Cālukya dynasty was reigning at Godhra in Gujarat. He wrote seven other works viz. (1) नेमिनाथ चरित्र (2) महावीर चरित्र (3) यशोधर चरित्र (4) धर्मचरित्रटिप्पण (5) सुभाषितरत्ननिधि (6) धर्मोपदेशचूडामणि and (7) ध्यानप्रदीप. I have verified the date of the षट्कर्मोपदेश as recorded by the author and find that it corresponds to *Thursday 16th August 1190.*[2] It would thus be seen that this namesake of our commentator flourished 400 years earlier.

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[1] Vide Jain Antiquary Vol. II, Part 3, pp. 80-92 and Vol. II, Part 4, pp. 120-131 (1935-36).

[2] Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, III, p. 383.

MAHĀBHĀRATA, ITIHĀSA

BY

Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D. Sc.

In connection with Mr. Tadpatrikar's remarks on the Mahābhārata in ABORI. XVII, 1936 p. 409, may I suggest that "the words of scripture have many meanings" and that this general proposition holds good as much for oriental as for Western scriptures; and that Professor Thadani's theory of an allegorical meaning, whether or not it be valid in itself by no means necessarily excludes the validity of literal (historical), moral or anagogic (*pārmārthika*) meanings.

On the other hand, Mr. Tadpatrikar's citation of such phrases as *Itihāsôttamād asmāt*, etc., is very far from proving a sole validity or even the importance of an historical interpretation. One must not be led astray by the modern and *laukika* use of the word *itihāsa*. In ŚB. XIII, 4. 3. 12-13 both *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* are "Veda": in AB. III. 25 the *Suparṇa* saga (obtaining of Soma by the Gāyatrī) is called an *itihāsa* and *Sāyaṇa* on ŚB. XI. 5. 6. 8 says that "*Itihāsa* is an account of primordial events; (*purāvṛtta pratipādakam*);[1] or as others express it *itihāsa* means a *Brāhmaṇa* account of creation (*sṛṣṭi-pratipādakam brāhmaṇam* i. e. what modern scholars would call a 'creation myth') such as "In the beginning (agre) all this universe was just the waters". In ŚB. XI. 1. 6. 9. it is expressly stated that it is the conflict of Devas and Asuras that is related "partly in the *ākhyāna* and partly in the *itihāsa*".

It is difficult to understand how anyone can read the Mahābhārata without recognizing in it a somewhat humanised version of the Vedic conflict of Devas and Asuras, now represented by the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas. To cite only one significant moment, Arjuna's protest "Even for the sake of empire over the three worlds...I will not fight" (BG. I. 35 and II. 9) is not merely like but the same as Indra's "Not for the sake of empire will I slay" (J. I. 202-3) Mitra's reluctance to slay Soma-Vṛtra, "Surely he misliked to slay" (ŚB. IV. 1. 4. 8-9), and Indra's "I will not slay" MS. IV. 3. 4). These are not mere analogies, but redactions of one and the same *purāvṛtta*.[2]

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[1] That is as much as to say that the *bhāvavṛtta* hymns of RV. are *itihāsa*.

[2] For some further indications see my "*Darker Side of Dawn*" Washington, 1935, P. 12, Note 6.

It by no means follows that history may not have reflected the primordial pattern, on the contrary, it is nothing but the fact that history has repeated and still repeats the primordial pattern that gives any validity at all to literal and historical interpretations of scripture. But very surely it was not for the sake of these historical analogies, not as already euhemerised documents, that the scriptures were compiled. The "miraculous" elements in epic literature are by no means "poetical" glorifications and enhancements of human events, but metaphysical formulations and the most essential parts of the story, which he only can be said to have "understood" *ya evaṁ veda.* Whoever restricts himself to the literal and lowest levels of reference is neglecting the greater part of the contents of the texts.

Modern attempts to prove the historicity of the epics are conditioned in part, of course, by a natural reaction against the accusation of a "lack of any historical sense" in Indian culture generally. But the European scholar is perfectly correct in his diagnosis of an indifference to history in India; the Indian wrong, untrue to himself, and lacking in the courage of his own convictions and traditional indoctrination when he denies this virtue in himself.

There is a way of considering the course of events (*lokavṛtta*) not so much as past and future as ever present (*nityam*); and from this point of view, assumed in the Saṁhitās and implicit in the "later" *itihāsa*, the relation (*pratipādaka*) is not a matter of "memories," nor in the scientific sense "historical". As Plotinus has so well expressed it, "Memory is for those who have forgotten". If the Epic is not true *today*, it is not true at all. If we "exult, cry, and weep" with the epic heroes, it is not because they were so-and-so or so-and-so, or lived at such and such a date, but precisely because of their timeless universality. Just as we are touched by the Vedic Liebesgeschichte Himmels, the loves of Dyāvāpṛthivī, Sūrya and Uṣas, Yama and Yamī, Purūravas and Urvaśī, Sāman and Ṛk, Manas and Vāc—, more deeply than by any modern novel: not because these were once individual essences of our kind, but because their passions are reflected and repeated in our own experience. who are their children. [1]

[1] Cf. my "L'Idèe de 'Crèation Èternelle' dans le Ṛgveda," *Ètudes Traditionelles*, Jan. 1936.

REVIEWS

THE CHILD IN ANCIENT INDIA by Dr. Mrs. Kamalabai Deshpande, G. A., Ph. D., Principal, S. N. D. T. Women's College, Poona 4, 1936; pp. 226; Price Rs. 2/-; Venus Stores, Book-Sellers & Publishers, Poona 4.

It is a happy sign of the times that Indian women are gradually entering the several fields of intellectual, social and political activities, hitherto looked upon as the preserves of men. The field of oriental learning has had no fascination hitherto for the best intellect of Indian womanhood owing partly to the dry-as-dust nature of antiquarian studies and partly on account of the absorption of almost all educated women in India in the work of social and educational amelioration of their brothers and sisters. Though all highly educated Indian women cannot take to intellectual pursuits for their own sake, there is no reason why some of them, having the necessary intellectual acumen should not maintain in later life an unquenchable thirst for knowledge in any specific field of research. We, therefore, welcome the book under notice as an earnest of future efforts of the authoress in the field of oriental research.

The present volume is a thesis submitted by the authoress to the German University in Prague in the year 1931. Prepared as the thesis was, under the almost paternal guidance of the late Dr. M. Winternitz, it has enjoyed the benefit of his scrupulous regard for fact and method combined with a painstaking study of an unostentatious but useful subject viz. an analysis of the Indian rites which concern the child. These rites are the so-called *Saṁskāras* which governed the whole mundane existence of an ancient Aryan. Mrs. Deshpande has dealt with only those *saṁskāras* which concern the child, moulding its future social and religious life. She has given us a workable definition of a *Saṁskāra* or rite: " A *Saṁkāra* is a socio-religious rite by the performance of which the life of the present Hindu or Brahmanical Ārya is sanctified ". Elsewhere she defines 'ritual' as a " stereotyped expression of belief. " As the subject of inquiry has been confined mainly to Ancient India Mrs. Deshpande has had to rely upon the record of the *Saṁskāras* as found in the

early Brahmanical literature, though the work contains " many interesting references to rites and customs which are still in vogue in India to day. "

The beliefs and customs that surround the life of a child in modern India even in the most orthodox circles are a conglomeration of cultures, through which the Hindu Society has passed during several centuries since the Vedic period of Indian civilization. Tantric beliefs and customs, as distinct from purely Brahmanical saṁskāras, which mainly governed the life of a child in ancient India, have enriched the Hindu religion and culture to so great an extent that leaders of Hindu thought in modern times have failed to give a scientific definition of the term " Hindu. " In view of these difficulties in the way of a comprehensive and accurate survey of Hindu beliefs and customs, which are the very crux of Indian civilization as it has survived to day, Mrs. Deshapande has done well in studying a single aspect of this vast subject with full documentation of the sources utilized in her thesis under notice. In fact it is a systematic attempt to lay bare all the aspects of the problem in a thoroughly informative manner and clear style. It would prove useful to all students of ancient Indian culture as it gives us a close insight into the social and religious life that surrounded a child in ancient India. We end this short notice of the book in the words of Mrs. Deshpande's guru, Dr. Winternitz, now no more ! " Let me express the hope that Mrs. Deshpande in spite of the strain of her practical educational work may yet find time to continue her research work in the field of Indology which she has so ably begun. "

P. K. Gode.

VERGLEICHENDES UND ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTERBUCH DES ALT-INDOARISCHEN (ALT-INDISCHEN) von Walter Wüst, Dr. Phil. und O. Ö. Professor an der Universität München, Lieferung 1–3 (Titebogen und Bogen 1–13), Heidelberg 1935.—Indo-Germanische Bibliothek Herausgegeben von H. Hirt u. W. Streitberg, Erste Abteilung: Sammlung Indo-Germanischer Lehr- und Handbücher, Zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher. 4- Carl Winters Universitatsbuchhandlung. Price RM. 9.

Sanskrit, or to revert to the phraseology of the Comparative Linguist, Old Indo-Aryan, has had the fortune among the classical Indo-European languages of being the first to have a magnificent and epoch-making Lexicon in the life-work of Böhtlingk and Roth as embodied in the Petersburg Lexicon, 1855–1875. The magnitude and authoritativeness of this Lexicon, when we consider the amount of new research since done, is really astounding. But unfortunately this enviable position was not maintained in the case of an Etymological Dictionary; Latin and Greek usurped this place in the publications of Walde, Boisacq, Ernout and Meillet. The reason is not far to seek; few people in India were interested in Comparative Linguistics, and unfortunately those in Europe and America who had unrivalled opportunities of undertaking this work, gave their time to other studies. The first work in this direction to be published was that of Uhlenbeck: *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der alt-indischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898. But this was very small and with few bibliographical details. The second effort in this direction came from the Brothers Leumann (Ernst and Julius), but only one part containing the Introduction and entries *a* to *jū* appeared as *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache* Lieferung I, Leipzig 1907. Nothing further was done until 1924 when the Italian Scholar Ermenegildo La Terza started publishing his *Saggio* in the journal *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia-lingua-antichità*. But the entries covered only a few words (*a* to *ā́p*) for the six years 1924 to 1929. Thus three attempts were made with very indifferent success within 31 years, each roughly marking a decade. In the meantime Ralph Lilley Turner in London was busy working at a Comparative Etymological Dictionary of Nepali which was published in 1931.

This was but the preliminary work to a Comparätive Etymological Dictionary of New Indo-Aryan through the stages of Old- and Middle Indo-Aryan, intended as a crowning volume to the monumental work of Sir George Grierson. Still a comparative etymological dictionary of the Old Indo-Aryan was a desideratum. A fourth attempt was announced by Professor Walther Wüst of München some years back, and he has been busy working on this for nearly 13 years now, amidst his many other shorter and bigger studies, and finally we are here presented with the first three parts of this epoch-making work. Before proceeding to a review of these parts we heartily wish Prof. Wüst every success for his great undertaking and its speedy publication for which the whole scholarly world is waiting. It is gratifying to note that unlike Leumanns' and La Terza's works, Prof. Wüst has got the complete presscopy of his work ready, and we earnestly desire and hope that the fasciculi will be published regularly and within a reasonably short period.

This first fasciculus containing three Lieferugen covers viii and 203 pages. We are given to understand on p. ii of the cover that the entire work, divided into three sections, will be published in Lieferungen of about four forms each (i. e. 64 pp.) at the price of RM. 3 for each Lieferung, and when completed it will extend to over 3000 pages (or about 200 forms). The first section consists of a Vorrede or Foreword which is really an Introduction giving very full details about the work, a list of abbreviations and a full bibliography. The second section is the main one dealing with the comparative etymology of Old Indo-Aryan. The third section, we are given to understand, will be entirely devoted to appendices, etc. so that the work may be referred to by non-Sanskritists even, and incidentally be an indication of the correct etymology of other cognate languages.

The Vorrede, as already mentioned above, is more like a Foreword and Introduction that we usually associate with English Publications, and on top of it, as an illustration of the author's method of linguistic approach, we have a fairly big study entitled " *Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschischte und Welt-Anschauung*, I : Eine indo-iranische Dialect-Isoglosse im Ṛgveda ", dealing with the hapax legomenon *cākṣmá-* (pp. 86–112). A large part of the Vorrede is unfortunately devoted to

personal criticism, which, however-much deserved, could better have formed part of an independent brochure instead of a scholarly and admirable and painstaking work. Detailed criticism of the other works in the field, as for instance that of Uhlenbeck (p. 16ff.) is worthily given, but unfortunate controversy (though no doubt, deeply connected with Prof. Wüst's lifework,) with the late Prof. Charpentier might have been easily avoided in the Vorrede. What is most striking here, however, is the clearness of principles and the precision of method enforced by Prof. Wüst in his linguistic work. This will give a mark to Prof. Wüst's work which will be hard indeed to emulate. The recording alone of the bibliographical notes would have ordinarily been the life-work of a single scholar ; over and above this Prof. Wüst has kept himself in constant touch with present-day work and when this Dictionary is completed, it will not only be the most comprehensive etymological dictionary of a classical I-E. language, but also the most informed and the best documented.

It may be questioned whether all this bibliographical work will be of any use, but Prof. Wüst, quoting that old Master of Sanskrit Linguistics Jacob Wackernagel, tells us that even amidst the accumulated heap of dust we might discover some gold grains justifying the effort. One is reminded of Patañjali's *kūpa-khanana-nyāya* in his *Mahābhāṣya* in this connection. It would perhaps have added to the usefulness of this work if Prof. Wüst had also included the orthodox Sanskrit Grammarians in this list; for however much they lag behind from the point of modern Linguistics, their power of observation and love of truth are almost unrivalled.

On pp. 112 ff. Prof. Wüst gives us his scheme for a Synthetic Lexicon in nine different groups. This is but an indication of his deep sincerity and conscientious work for that critical linguistic approach which alone can raise the science of Linguistics on a firm basis. His analytical monograph scheme, illustrated by the study of *cākṣmá-*, is the only one which will give us some positive result in the vexed problems of Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan etymology, for here there is no such demarcation as in the earlier I-E. field.

The Bibliographical section is subdivided into seven groups and occupies 61 pages (i. e. pp. 134–194). It is only necessary to look at the print to know how much information is packed up within these pages. Of the actual comparative etymological dictionary of OI-A. we are presented with 12 pages (pp. 197–208), wherein only three full articles and part of a fourth are dealt with. Thus we have the base of the demonstrative pronoun ă- as the first entry ; the verbal augment *a*-as the second ; the privative *a*(*n*)-as the third and the interjection *a* as the fourth. The matter given here is not sufficient to give us an insight into the nature of the work as a whole, which insight, however, we hope we shall be given in plenty in the next fasciculus. But a perusal of the Vorrede, monograph and bibliography has sharpened our appetite for more of this delectable linguistic fare, and it is our ardent hope that Prof. Wüst will not disappoint us.

There is one suggestive remark in Prof. Wüst's Vorrede, bound to be of the greatest interest to Indian students and scholars who have not had the fortune of learning German. This is about an English edition of this fundamental and epochmaking work (see p. 4). It should be urged ardently on the author that the Sanskrit loving public of India, exceeding in number all the rest of the scholars interested in I-E. have a right to expect an English edition which is intelligible to a majority of them, rather than a German edition. It would be a fitting gesture if the Prof. and the Asiatic Society of Bengal work out a scheme in this direction.

As one who has been engaged for some years on a comparative etymological dictionary of Middle Indo-Aryan the reviewer is in a fit position to realize the amount of labour, thought and care which Prof. Wüst has bestowed upon his dictionary. In welcoming this unique and magnificent introduction to a scientific study of Sanskrit and Old Indo-Aryan etymology, we extend our heartiest good wishes to the illustrious author, and look forward to reviewing the next fasciculus with the greatest pleasure and hope that we shall soon have the completed work with us.

S. M. Katre

THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY ENGLISH-KANNADA DICTIONARY, Part I (A to Biilow), Bangalore; Printed by the Superintendent at the Government Press, 1936; pp. ii, 96.

Lexicographical activities seem to have increased in the present decade in the field of Indian Linguistics, and there has been a bumper crop of Dictionaries, Lexicons, Glossaries etc. covering some of the most important languages in India. The year 1936 marks the completion of the Tamil Lexicon under the fostering care of the Madras University only to see the beginning of another venture of slightly different nature, this time under the patronage of the Mysore University, in the shape of an English-Kannada Dictionary. Universities in Southern India deserve the most sincere thanks of the reading public for the generous manner in which they have subsidised these movements which are necessary for advancement of learning and scholarship in so many directions and thus set an example for the Northern Universities to follow. Though this is not the first occasion to see an English-Kannada Dictionary (for there have been at least three up to now) the book under reveiw is a work on very comprehensive lines, and we are given to understand that it will be completed in twelve parts of 96 pages each. It is to be hoped that we will soon be able to get the remaining parts in quick succession.

The object of the Dictionary is " to help to convey into the vernacular modern ideas expressed in English " in the field of science, technology, history, sociology and other branches of Humanities, and from the first 96 pages we can confidently express that the object is more than successfully achieved. Both the Government and the University are to be warmly congratulated for putting into action the resolution of the Mysore Representative Assembly passed at its Dasara Session in September 1925. The plan is as follows: the English word is given first in Clarendon type, followed by its phonetic value in Kannada (for which a few special symbols have been devised) and the meaning in Kannada; phrases and idioms centring round this are included in the same article. There are certain defects in

the phonetic transcription which might have been easily corrected; for instance the broad open *o* in English has been given the Kannada equivalent *ā*, s. vv. *abiológical, abnórmal, abólish, abómi-nable, abórt, absórb,* etc. So far as the main object of the Dictionary (quoted in the beginning of this paragraph) is concerned, this part of the work is redundant. We believe that this is meant for the increasing number of Kannada readers interested in learing the English language through the medium of Kannada, and for such if this part is accurately given the Dictionary will be of inestimable value. We admit that there are difficulties in accurate representation of phonetic values in Kannada script as in other Indian scripts, but they can be overcome by the introduction of special symbols as already done in the case of the *a* in *bat*, notwithstanding the peculiar speech habits of the people for whom it is meant. Thus for instance the English spirant *v* is always represented as in aspirated bilabial *v* (=*vh*) in Marāṭhī, but to so represent the English value in Marāṭhī phonetically would be absurd.

Referring to the actual equivalents the Editor's remark on page ii of the Preface is worth quoting : " With regard to finding suitable equivalents, reference has been made to almost all the dictionaries and glossaries that are available in the several Indian vernaculars–Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Hindi, Bengali–and to Sanskrit dictionaries." While admiring the Editorial Board for its truly *cosmopolitan* outlook in the search for equivalents it will not be out of place to request them to formulate the general principles on the basis of which they are to be adopted from the other cognate or Indo-Aryan languages, for we have a right to know them. Certain words, whether coming from Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic source, have become the common property of all Indian languages and we cannot escape them. The general principles enunciated should have bearing on ideas not having a widely current equivalent in other Indian languages. The editors have rightly given the place of honour to Kannada equivalents, and it is to be hoped that this system will be uniformly followed, consistent with the particular meanings.

A perusal of the first 96 pages convinces us of the comprehensive nature of the work; they cover practically most of the technical sciences and arts. The editors have done well to consult

the two Oxford Dictionaries in the selection of material for the English part, and when the present Dictionary is fully published we shall have the most comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language in a Southern Vernacular, and we shall look forward to congratulating the Editorial Board, the University and the Government for the splendid manner in which the work is carried on and the beautiful printing and get up of the first fasciculus.

We think that this is an occasion for bringing to the notice of the Mysore Government and the Mysore University the absolute want of a good, comprehensive, historical and comparative Dictionary of the Kannada Language. This work can only be undertaken by the Government in consultation and combination with the University on such a large scale, covering not only the literary strata, but inscriptional and dialectical as well, with a comparative etymological basis and full references. The Tamil Lexicon has done a great service to Tamil culture, but a Kannada Lexicon on the basis outlined above is very essential for a proper evaluation of the Kannada culture. Not only will Kannada culture gain something from this, but Dravidian also will gain immensely and we shall have in this a work which will further the study and our knowledge of South Indian Linguistics as well. It will also supplement the English-Kannada Dictionary, which has been so ably begun, and thus set another example for the remaining South and North Indian languages to follow.

S. M. Katre

THE BUDDHACARITA : or ACTS OF THE BUDDHA–Part I–Sanskrit Text, edited by E. H. Johnston, D. Litt ;—Part II–Canots i to xiv translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version together with an introduction and notes by E. H. Johnston–Panjab University Oriental Publications Nos. 31 and 32 Lahore 1935-36; pp. xxii, 166 and xcviii, 232.

Aśvaghoṣa's masterpiece and one of the earliest classical Sanskrit Mahākāvyas, the *Buddhacarita*, has at last met with a treatment worthy of its greatness and antiquity at the hands of the learned editor and translator, Dr. E. H. Johnston. In dealing with a work which has come down with a faulty tradition objecttive handling deserves greater value and importance than a subjective one, and the task of emendations, however edifying and interesting, is at best a personal approximation and always conjectural. Dr. Johnston is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has handled the difficult material with consummate skill, and the work before us is certainly more than "a substantial advance in the restitution and interpretation of the extant fragments of a famous poem." (p. vi. of Part I).

The volumes are meant to be studied side by side, for some of the abbreviations are to be understood from the first part only. The text restitutions are based on a Tibetan translation and a Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*. In the preface to Part I the editor has enunciated the principles on which the text has been based by a study of the materials ; all facts relating to Aśvaghoṣa are ably dealt with in detail in the introduction to the second part. The extant text covers only the first 14 cantos with a few lacunae which have been filled in the English Translation with the help of the Tibetan version. Besides the text the most interesting part of the two volumes is in the notes which are critical, interesting and very scholarly, bearing testimony to the deep study that Dr. Johnston has made specially of Aśvaghoṣa and generally of Sanskrit literature. We have no hesitation in saying that all future researches in Aśvaghoṣa's works will depend on the two masterly editions of *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*.

The get up of the volumes is worthy of the Panjab University, and the usual errors connected with printing in India are conspicuous by their absence. The few that occur are already noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*, p 231. The only slip we can mention here is not so much due to a misprint as to an omission in detail, vide Part II, p. lxxxi, foot-note 1 where *Ind. Ant.* is mentioned without the volume number.

The learned editor, the Panjab University and the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta have combined to place Aśvaghoṣa's masterpiece on a pedestal which will be very difficult of attainment for other critical editions of Sanskrit classics. It is to be hoped that Dr. Johnston may be given the opportunity of publishing his translation of the remaining cantos (known only through Tibetan and Chinese translations) in the Panjab University Oriental Publications. Last but not least, there is a very full index at the end of words discussed in the notes, which will be very useful to Sanskrit Lexicography.

S. M. Katre

STUDIES ON PĀṆINI'S GRAMMAR by Barend Faddegon
Verhandeling der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XXXVIII, No. I– N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, Amsterdam, 1936. Price 7/6; pp. 72

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, that masterpiece of Grammatical Analysis *cum* Synthesis, due to its manner of composition in the inimitable Sūtra style, has no doubt sacrificed clarity for the sake of brevity ; but the reasons are inherent in the work and the period of its composition. Many of its divisions, ideas and notations have brevity for their aim, and as a consequence they may appear to go against modern ideas of Linguistics. But in this monograph the author makes a deep study of the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and brings out implications which show that after all when judged from a critical standpoint Pāṇini is as modern as ourselves, and that in certain conceptions he is even in advance of us towards the right direction. Thus for example Pāṇini's conception of an indeclinable noun-form is evidently

more correct than the notion of Occidental grammar in calling infinitives and absolutives nominal verb-forms (p. 9).

The work is divided into two sections : Division I treats of the grammar of the indeclinables and ably discusses such terms as *nipāta*, *avyaya*, *karma-pravacanīya*, *upa-pada*, *gati* etc. The final article of this division can bear repetition here : " The worth of Pāṇini's work for us is not in its linguistic information, however valuable many a detail may be, but in its fitness as a training for our understanding the Indian methods of composition ; and specially as a scientific work it offers in this respect great advantages. " Division II deals with the methods and mannerisms of composition in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī. Noteworthy in this section is § 73 giving a concise analytical table of *Aṣṭ*.

Finally there is an Appendix discussing some technical difficulties. The monograph is intended to be a preliminary study of Pāṇini whom Prof. Faddegon sums up in § 63 (p. 47) as follows: " What is it that strikes us most in Pāṇini, the ancient pioneer of grammar and auditive witness of the linguistic facts, when we compare him with Delbrück, investigator trained by modern methods of research and a great reader of literary documents ? What strikes us then, when taking account of difference and agreement, is the trustworthiness of Pāṇini, his power of observation, his love of language, his deep intellectual and emotional understanding. " The Hindu public is deeply grateful to the author for such a correct and sympathetic estimate of the Great Master of Linguistic Science. The time has come for Occidental Linguists to enter into the spirit of Pāṇini in order to break new ground in Linguistics, and this little monograph is the best primer towards a modernistic and scientific approach to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. We shall look forward to the major work of Prof. Faddegon to which this is only an introduction.

S. M. Katre

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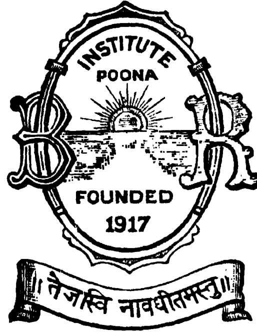
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SAPTADVĪPĀ PṚTHIVĪ

BY

HARILAL RANGILDAS MANKAD, B. A.

JODIYĀ (Kāṭhiāwād).

Before I lay out my plan of the Saptadvīpa classification of the globe it would be better to clear some issues which need our careful consideration and scrutiny, and which would be helpful to us in pursuing our inquiry.

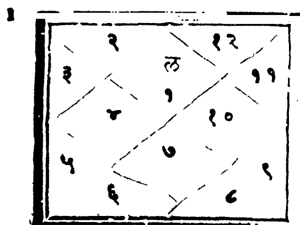
The work done upto now is based, I think, on certain notions. For instance, the European way of geographers is taken for granted to be fundamental for such work of non-European origin also. Our modern Indian scholars have accepted the present system of western cartography which gives first importance to North and places it on the top of the modern map. Next, the modern Indian scholars follow the present land masses in the familiar positions-Americas on the left and old continents on the right of the map. But perhaps the real deception against the correct allocation of our old geographical units is played on our mind by the particular shapes, configurations, and outlines of the present continents as fixed on the eyes viewed breadthwise from west to east. (Plate I).

On the contrary, the ancient Indian practice is very different. We have got a valuable bit of Indian cartography in the east

of the horoscope. In that drawing, Lagna [1] the point of contact of the ecliptic and the horizon of the eastern quarter, is shown on the top, which means our important direction, unlike the European North, is East. Moreover the land round our country of residence was quite naturally taken to be the starting point for all ideas and everything was conceived to be receding further away from this centre of our daily activities. (Plate III).

Now let us study the present map of the world keeping the eastern side on the top. (Plate II). The land mass presents a well-defined triangular shape, curiously resembling the figure of the outline map of England on a gigantic scale, with Bering Strait as apex and Americas as the base, stretching vertically and lengthwise from east to west. The arrangements of mountains, the main cordilleras, leaving aside the sub-ranges and the branching spurs, present a perpendicular setting. The Rocky-Andean base supports the Alpine-Himālayan verticle, making up the axial framework of the continents as it were. This triangle is washed by the waters of the oceans on the northern and the southern sides. Again the triangle is divided by the Atlantic Ocean into two parts and the base is separated from the apex by an arm of the Pacific Ocean. Another noteworthy feature is that, due to the push given by the western fallback of the waters consequent upon the force of pull given by the eastern rotatory movement of the Earth, both these oceans have carved out a curving coast line on their western margins giving at the same time a convex bulge to the western boundaries of the lands, washed by their eastern waters. The Gulf of Mexico and the China Sea stand for the centres of curvature of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans respectively. Thus the westering effects of the waters and hence of the lands preeminently give an air of

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reality to the Purānic geographical description of its curving configurations.

Materials for deriving information of the ancient geography as conceived by the Hindus are scanty as they are scattered in works from the Ṛgveda to the Purāṇas. Jain literature [1] gives some geography, but it is very meagre and mostly restricted to the Jambudvīpa. Again this information is in many cases [2] badly tampered with. For example, the names of the mountains and the rivers of one Dvīpa have been interchanged and intermingled with those of other Dvīpas. We get another illustration from the Rāmāyaṇa, [3] where the word Kūṭaśālmali is twisted to drag in all the Dvīpas in the commentaries, though the connexion of this word with Śālmali is nothing more than that of New England with England. This has taxed our discretion rather too much and has detracted some researchists to divide the present lands into fantastical continents. [4]

Every Hindu has heard the Scriptural geographical names. The most important of these names are Meru, Saptadvīpas, Jambudvīpa, Bharatakhaṇḍa, Aryāvarta, Kṣirsāgara, Udayagiri, Astācala and Pātālās. We find from the Ṛgveda that they had some knowledge about the 7 races [5] of men, 7 regions of the earth [6] and 7 ridges of mountains. [7] But it is strange that Meru the mainstay of the Purāṇas, is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. This fixes one limit of our subject. On the other hand, in the Epics, the Purāṇic names are already given to Indian places and peoples and hence they represent society which looks rather modern. While though the Purāṇas are of later production, they still preserve the traditional information of earlier times as against the history of the Epics. Geography is one such subject and the beauty of it is that almost all the Purāṇas are identical in their exposition of the subject. Where variants occur

1 'On the Indian Sect of the Jains' by Buhler and Burgess (Luzac, London, 1903), Pp. 61ff.

2 Texts of the Purāṇas will show this.

3 IV. 40. 39.

4 Educational Review, Vol. XXIX. Nos. 5, 7, 8.; Map of पुहंस्थानम् by M. M. Yajnik of Baroda.

5 VIII. 40. 8.

6 I. 22. 16.

7 VIII. 85. 2.

they are mostly interpolations. Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary says, "The number of these divisions varies according to different authorities, being four, seven, nine, or thirteen, all situated round the mountain Meru like the petals of a lotus flower, and each being separated by a distinct ocean. In N. 1, 5. the Dvīpas are said to be eighteen but seven appears to be the usual number; cf. R. 1. 65 and S. 7. 33. The central one is Jambudvīpa under which is included Bharatakhaṇḍa or India." This gives us the other time limit of the subject.

In this paper I am concerned with the 7 principal Dvīpas and as many Oceans. They are in order:—[1] Jambu (Asia), Kṣāroda (Indian Ocean), Plakṣa (Asia Minor - Enlarged), Iksurasoda (Persisn Gulf, Red Sea, Aegian Sea, Black Sea, Caspian Sea), Śālmali (Africa), Suroda (Mediterranean); Kuśa (Europe); Ghṛtoda (Arctic); Krauñca (N. America); Dadhimaṇḍoda (Atlantic); Śāka (S. America), Kṣiroda (Pacific), Puṣkara (Australia and Islands), Śuddhoda (Antarctic). After the last named ocean lies the Suvarṇabhūmi (Antarctica) with Mount Lokāloka in its midst.

Amongst these, Jambu is the central Dvīpa with Meru in its midst. All other Dvīpas are said to be lying concentrically round the Jambu and separated from each other by the oceans. Jambu is the innermost of them all; and the other Dvīpas and oceans are said to be getting bigger and bigger in geometrical progression with Śuddhoda as the largest and outermost ocean. The usual simile or symbolic expression used in describing the situation of the Dvīpas and the oceans is that they lie round the Meru like the petals of a lotus.[2] This forms the principal data to start with.

Before proceeding further I shall try to explain the two hitches which have decoyed the oriental scholars rather too long. First is the position of Meru. Meru at the North Pole[3] is a bogey created by the haunting idea of visible circular motion of the

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1 Vāman, 11. 35.—जम्बूद्वीपात्समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः ।; Also Siva. Umā, 18. 1ff.

2 Vatāha. 75 41ff.—अव्यक्तपृथिवीपद्मं मेरुस्तस्य च कर्णिका ।
चतुष्पत्रं समुत्पन्नं व्यक्तं पंचगुणं महत् ॥ ४१ ॥
Also, Gargasaṁhitā VII. 43. 2.

3 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas' by B. C. Tilak, Pp. 67, 70, 385, 453.

heavens at that place. But lands were like a revolving tyre of a cart wheel to our men who had their midday when the sun just passed by the Meru in its zenithal transit. Circular motion connected with the Meru cannot be the rotation effect at the north pole as according to the Tetrahedral Theory[1] of the arrangement of land and water masses on the globe, there cannot be land at the north pole. It can therefore indicate the daily solar transits; or better, as we shall see later on, it can indicate the revolution effects of the sun's attaining the northernmost point in the heavens; when it begins to recede southwerds after reaching Mount Meru. Relying on this theory I look to Mount Kailāsa and the attendant Mānasarovara, the most famous names in the post-Vedic literature to be representing mount Meru and the Jambunadasara[2] round which the Meru spread. I may here point that Meru in reality represents that vast plateau [3] of Central Asia which extends northwards from the Kailāsa. This dispels the notion that the Dvīpas and oceans were situated in concentric belts round the Meru representing the polar regions. It is physically impossible according to the Tetrahedral arrangement.

Another illusion of this type which has caught fast the rigid mentaliiy of the Pandit is the Lotus Theory. True it is that the lotus is circular but it is equally true that it is not made up of continuous rings of single-petal belts. The petals are arranged bit by bit and one behind and between the two and vice versa in interlocking positions leaving as many interstices as there are petals, outer petals getting bigger than the inner ones. Thus the symbol of lotus stands for neat arrangement of land and water and not for the circular or rather ringular shapes of the continents and oceans I may therefore say that the lotus symbol only suggests the fan-like spread of the land with well-set

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1 If we take a tetrahedron that is a four-sided pyramid and hold it on its tapering point, then the edges of the pyramid and the lower point (the antarctic land) will represent lands and the three sides and the top (the artic waters) will represent waters. This is actually what will happen if a spherical body shrinks or collapses from within.

Vide, 'Geography-Structiral, Physical and Comparative', by J. W. Gregory, Pp. 17ff. Also Ency. Br. (13th Edn.), XXX. 177^b.

2 Śiva. Umā. 17. 19.

3 Varāha. Chs. 77ff.

land portions resembling a petalled sector of the lotus. Nothing more is possible. The tetrahedral earth debars any other presumption. (Plate II.) Similes cannot be too literally interpreted, when in Indian literature the face is a lotus, the eye is a lotus, the hand is a lotus, and the foot is also a lotus ! In fact the Purāṇas actually use other terms in describing the countries of the Jambu. They use the Dhanuṣ [1] or the Bow and the Trikoṇa [2] or the Triangle. It may be noted that both these terms strenghten the above-mentioned theory of triangular and fan-shaped spread of the petalled sector of the earth-lotus. The land is also compared with the rabbit[3] and the pippala tree.[4] The Meru and the Lotus Theories as explained above will at once prepare us for a progressively widening earth from the Jambu westwards. (Plate II). That is what the Purāṇas have virtually preserved for us, and that is what the shape of the present earth actually is. This settles the first fundamental requisite of our ancient geography—the fan-like shape of the earth.

This outlook of the earth clears one more important issue, I mean the term 'Dvīpa' which means 'having water on two sides' [5] A look on the map (Plate III) will at once show that the land-belt of the earth extending as it is from east to west is enclosed on two sides by the water of the northern and southern oceans. 'Dvīpa' was perhaps the Indian rendering of the word 'World' and its seven divisions - the seven petals of the lotus-made it 'Saptadvīpā'.

Now before I proceed to identify the positions of the seven Dvīpas I should like to make one observation. I do not see any reason to believe that the present configuration of the earth has undergone any material change in its lands and waters since the time of the period under discussion in this paper. The only feature I am inclined to take into account is the Rift Valley of Africa, though not its actual existence as a continuous link

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1 Mbh. Bhīṣma 1. 6. 38 ; Varāha, 75. 35.—धनुःसंस्थे तु द्वे वर्षे विज्ञेये दक्षिणोत्तरे ।

2 Garuḍa. 15. 60-61.—त्रिकोणे संस्थितो मेरुरथः कोणे च मन्दरः । and so on.

3 Bhīṣma. 1. 5. 16-17. ; Bhīṣma. 1. 6. 54-55.

4 Ibid.

5 Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi, 6. 3· 97-98. Also Brahmāṇḍa. 1. 19. 136.—द्विराप-कत्वात्स्मृता द्वीपाः

of water. The possbility of the Asiatic Mediterranean Sea[1] is another feature. But there is no mention of such a sea in the instruction given by Sugrīva to his Vānara contingent despatched to search the northern quarter[2] for Sītā. He mentions the only ocean in that direction to be reached after the Uttarakuru and beyond which he forbids to go as it is impossible to do so. This would mean it to be the Arctic Ocean. But even if both these features did exist in more or less manifested form, they would on the contrary help me in locating the limits of the Plakṣadvīpa as given hereunder.

Now I come to the Dvīpas proper. I have already given the order of the Dvīpas and the oceans which I think to be correct and to which the authorities agree in main, though with casual slips. I propose to proceed from the known to the unkown and in doing so I leave off the minute details which are likely to be disputed.

Tradition[3] has unequivocally preserved the correct position of Jambu wherein Bharatakhaṇḍa, India, is situated. And India has preserved the old name of its parent land in the frontier State of Kāshmir and Jammu where Jammu stands for Jambu. The Bhāratavarṣa is described as situated between the sea–the Ksāroda (Indian Ocean) and the Himālaya.[4] So the rest of the Jambu should be on the north of the Bhāratavarṣa. To fix the other boundaries of the Jambu we have the help of the descriptions of the marches of the armies for Digvijaya campaigns as given in the Epics. Arjuna while conquering the northern quarter is stopped short at the outskirts of the Uttarakuru;[5] but Sugrīva the Rāmāyana hero bids his lieutenents to go beyond that country and return only after reaching the ocean beyond which, he says, none can go.[6] This would evidently mean the Arctic Ocean. The Mahābhārata also in another place gives the

1 'Ṛgvedic Culture' by A. C. Das, pp. 4ff.

2 Kiṣ. 43. 53ff.

3 जम्बुद्वीपे भरतखण्डे etc.

4 Viṣṇu. 2. 3. 1.; Nārada. 3. 46.—क्षारोदधेरुत्तरं यद्धिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । ज्ञेयं तद् भारतं वर्षं सर्वकर्मफलप्रदम् ॥

5 Sabhā. Digvijaya. 28. 9ff.

6 Kiṣ. 43. 53ff.

ocean as the northern limit of Jambu.[1] Both the Epics similarly place an ocean[2] on the eastern limits of the Jambu. As to the westren frontier, the Purānas give only one country[3] on the west of the Meru. If we read this together with the description of this quarter as given in the Mahābhārata where Nakula's armies meet some tribes one of which is said to be Pahlavas,[4] evidently on the Persian frontier, we can safely fix it as extending up to the present limits of Afghānistān and somewhat along the Trans Caspian Railway in the Russian Turkastān. Incidentally it is interesting to note that the marches and the conquests of the Digvijaya expeditions were confined to the limits of the Jambu. Thus, generally speaking, Jambu will coincide with Asia excepting the present Islamic Countries.

First neighbour of Jambu on the west is Plakṣadvīpa which should be reached by crossing the first sea. The sea will be the Arabian Sea together with its arm the Persian Gulf beyond which should lie the Plakṣadvīpa. So in this Dvīpa I include the land surrounded by the waters of the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the Aegian Sea, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. This will thus comprise of Persia, Arabia, Turkey, a great part of Turkastān. It may be extended to the Aral Sea and the Lake Balkāsh. Plakṣa is said to be a fig-tree and there ' there are many varieties, the Smyrna fig being the finest [5]. We also know that the fruit-bearing area on our side begins from Quetta westwards. It of course includes the date-palm which is so abundant in those parts. Again the word Plakṣa is seen in the names like Balkāsh, and Balkh and the word Ikṣu contained in the Ikṣurasoda the surroundiug ocean, is reflected in the words Euxine,[6] the Greek name for the Black Sea and the Oxus. There is a town called Philippopolis in Bulgaria whose name in the Bulgarian language is given as Plovdiv.[7] There is the ancient word Chaldia (Khaldia) whose derivation[8] is obscure to the Encyclopae-

1 Bhī. Bhu. 8. 10–11.
2 Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣ. 40. 43. ; Mbh. Bhi. Dig. 30. 27.
3 Ketumāl.
4 Bhi. Dig. 32. 16.
5 Webster's Dictionary.
6 En. Br. (13th), IV. 25a.
7 Ibid. IV. 776c. Also Philips' New Systematic Atlas p. 36.
8 Ibid. V. 805b.

dia Britannica. Though it tries to point it out to be from 'Kasdi-Kaldu, with the well-known interchange of l and s', the writer of the article feels rather uneasy to account for the Chaleans of the Black Sea coast. I suggest that Chal (Khal) may be derived from Plakṣa where kh and l have interchanged places and dia is of course Dvīpa This derivation also solves the mystery of Black Sea Chaldeans as they too belonged to the Plakṣadvīpa. It may be noted that these words, by the way, fix the boundary of the Plakṣadvīpa within the limits encompassed by Balkash, Black Sea (Euxine), Philippopolis (Plovdiv), and Chaldia (Plakṣadvīpa). One more proof is supplied by the Purāṇas: the people of this Dvīpa worship God in His form of Agni[1] which fact is borne out by the famous fire-worshippers of Persia. It might perhaps appear strange that comparatively such a small piece of land be given the dignity of a continent. But we have ourselves done the same at present and we call this very land—let it be a portion—Asia Minor, thus recognising its claims to be demarked as a separate entity. In fact we have subconsciously preserved the old Purāṇic classification of Jambu and Plakṣa in the present terms of Asia and Asia Minor respectively,

The third Dvīpa is the Śālmali. Śālmali is the name given to the silk-cotton trees which, I understand, grow in Africa to 'gigantic proportions'[2]. This Dvīpa, again, is described as the home of eagle,[3] by which, I am afraid, is indicated the birds in general and the big ostriches in particular which are a speciality of Africa as we know. Both the Rāmāyaṇa[4] and the Mahābhārata[5] give a mountain called Meru in the western direction and we have a mountain named Meru[6] near the Kilima Njaro of the equatorial Africa. The Mahābhārata further narrates at some length the episode where the people of this part are described as Black.[7] Here it is worth noting that Kēmi[8]

1 Bhāg. 5. 20. 2.
2 En. Br. (13th), I. 323b.
3 Bhāg. 5. 20. 8.
4 Kiṣ. 42. 38.
5 Bhi. Bhu. 11. 15.
6 En. Br. (13th), I, 321b.
7 Bhi. Bhu. 11. 20f.
8 En. Br. (13th), IX. 41d.

the ancient name of Egypt means 'Black land'. But we have rather better ground to stand upon when we come to the word Somaliland which of course is the corruption of Śālmali. All these reasons lead us to identify the Śālmalidvīpa with the present African continent.

Kuśa is the next Dvīpa in order. In this Dvīpa it is stated that there is a pillar or stump of Kuśa grass[1] which shines like the sun. This can refer to the burning volcanoes of the Mediterranean Sea; but may, most probably, mean the phenomenon of Aurora Borialis on the north European tundras. One of the mountains of this Dvīpa is Kaṅka or Kuśeśaya[2] which in all probality is represented by the Caucasus. Other Purāṇic names suggested by the modern words are as follows: Draviṇa[3] or Droṇa[4] may be Rhone, Vidyullatā[5] may be Volga, Śivā[6] may be Sava, Hṛadini[7] may be Rhine, and Abhrā[8] may be Ebro. But more striking proof is supplied by the Mahābhārata. It says that the people of this Dvīpa are Gaura[9] i. e. white in complexion which tallies with that of the present-day Europeans. Relying on these data I locate Europe as Kuśadvīpa.

It is a point to be noted that in all these four Dvīpas their title names are more or less borne out by existing places.

Now comes Krauñcadvīpa. Here we have almost no clues as most of the present American civilization is European and it has given quite different names to the physical geography of the two Americas. The word Krauñca means Heron (Crane). It is quite natural that North America may be represented by a symbol of water-bird owing to existence of the Great Lakes just as Africa is represented by a symbol of land-bird. We have the support of the Webster's Dictionary. It says, 'The common heron of Europe and the great blue heron and the little blue heron of America are well-known and widely distributed species.' But unlike the names of other Dvīpas known by their vegetation the Purāṇas make this Dvīpa an exception in naming it after a mountain peak called Krauñca. I take this mountain to be

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1 Bhāg. 5. 20. 13.
2–7 Varāha. Ch. 87,
8 Agni. 56. 11.
9 Bhī. Bhu. 12. 16,

one of the Rockian peaks near the Pacific coast after the Bhāgavata which places it on the coast of the Kṣiroda coast.[1] We can also see the word Krauñca in the names of American-Indian languages of Karankawan of Texas and Keresan of New Mexico.[2] Here also the Mahābhārata gives the complexion of the people as 'Bahudhā Gaura'[3] i. e. quasi-white and recognises perhaps the Red Indians by that term. So this may justify us in taking the Krauñcadvīpa as the North America.

The sixth is the Śākadvīpa. It is said that Udayagiri[4] and Astācala[5] mountains are situated in the Śākadvīpa and they are where the sun is seen rising and setting and therefore they must be about the equator and on the antipodal side of Jambu, the centre of observation. We know that such a place crossed by the equator is the South American continent. And this continent should be our Śākadvīpa. There is another mountain called Rajata which means silver and the richness of the Bolivian Andes in this metal is well-known. So Rajata may be a peak of that part of the Andes. It may be noted that silver has given Argentina its present name. Again, the word Śāka suggests the profusion of vegetation growth and we get support for this from a good authority.[6] 'South America is famous for its exceptional wealth in plants of great economic value.' Pātalas are placed in this Dvīpa[7] on the shores of the Kṣiroda[8] and they are described as rich in vegetation and deficient in light. This state of affairs fits in with the condition prevailing in the dense forests of this continent where life is said to be existing in perpetual twilight. It is also stated that the people of this Dvīpa worship the Sūrya (Sun) form of God[9] which fact is upheld by the worship of the Sun-God in ancient Peru[10] by the Great Incas

1 Bhāg. 5. 20. 19.
2 En. Br. (13th), I, 811d.
3 Bhi. Bhu. 12. 23.
4 Śiva. Umā. 13. 53.
5 Ibid, 18. 54.
6 Gregory, P. 257.
7 Bhāg. 8. 11. 46. ; IHQ. Vol. II, No. 2, p. 238.
8 Mbh. Udyoga. 120. 4f.
9 Brahma. 18. 72.—शाकद्वीपस्थितैर्विष्णुः सूर्यरूपधरो हरिः ।. Also Agni. 119. 21. and Phavisya. Chs. 72ff.
10 Illus. Weekly of Ind. 4th Feb. 1934.

which word itself means the 'people of the sun'.[1] And finally the richness of the Pātālas is fully manifested in the all-gold images and Palaces and even the gardens of the Incas.[2] In all these facts, I think, we have a good case for Śākadvīpa to be identified with South Amercia.

Puṣkara is the last of the Dvīpas. It is described as circular or rather annular in shape and broken from the middle.[3] It is divided into two countries by a mountain called Mānasottara by which the sun passes when it is away from the Meru and hence obviously in its southern circuit.[4] These two mountains are said to be the bearers of the two ends of the axis of the wheel of the sun's chariot.[5] Again, sun's doubling round these two mountains is said to be connected with the day and night of the gods which means that the two positions indicate the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn respectively.[6] In this Dvīpa is the Ghātakīkhaṇḍa. These data determine that the formation of this Dvīpa is coral-atollic with lagoons, that the tropic of Capricorn passes through it and that in all probability there is a desert in its interior as hinted by the Ghātakīkhaṇḍa[7] meaning cruel tract of land. Moreover, I suggest that the word Puṣkara can be derived[8] to mean a collection of many water-masses and hence almost an archipelago. Such a shape and position exactly fit in with the Oceanic Islands in general and the Australian continent in particular, which should then be our Puṣkaradvīpa, south-east of the Wallace's Line, with Macdonell Ranges as Mānasottara and Amedeus as the attendant lake.[9]

Now let us take up the oceans separating these Dvīpas. But let me explain first what is meant by the expression 'each Dvīpa is enclosed by an ocean.' It certainly can never mean the engirdling of the Dvīpas by the seas. It is improper to interpret the natural and hence accidental regularities as representing symetries. It only means that each Dvīpa has a well-defined

1 En. Br. (13th), XXI. 274c.
2 See 4 above.
3 Śiva. Umā. 18. 59ff. Also Brahma. 18. 79.
4 Matsya. 124. 40.
5-6 Bhāg. 21. 7ff.
7 Some call it Dhātakikhaṇḍa.
8 पुष्क + रा ।
9 Cf. Kailāsa and Mānasarovara.

coast-line marked out by a separating expanse of water and this actually is the case with the land and water forms on the earth. Thus when we have fixed once for all the location of the Dvīpas the work of naming the oceans becomes merely a matter of course. I have already given my identification.

Now I try to explain the names. Kṣāroda, the ocean of salt, needs no introduction. It is the Indian Ocean situated on the south of Bhāratavarṣa. Ikṣurasoda is the ocean of the juice of sugar-cane. No one will seriously believe that the literal meaning is really meant here, though we know Egypt to be a sugar-cane producing country to some extent. It only means that the countries situated round its shores were full of commodities bearing sweet juice such as fruits of all sorts which are profusely found in Asia Minor. I may here remark that, though the character of man may materially change, the character of vegetation may have in general remained the same at present as in those times. This remark will be true also for the Suroda, the ocean of wine, as even now the Mediterranean countries are famous for their wines and spirits. Next comes Ghṛtoda, the ocean of ghee or clarified butter. Let one think over that expanse of water in the north, covered as it is with a sheet of ice broken into floes, and the spectacle of a layer of frozen and cracked ghee spread upon water will at once present itself before his eyes. Thus Ghṛtoda is perhaps the most exact and appropriate rendering of the actuality prevailing at the north polar seas. Dadhimaṇḍoda means the ocean of curdled or churned milk. This term presupposes the foamy character of the water and also its circulating movement. It is quite possible that the ancient Hindus might have felt the Atlantic currents rather stronger in comparison with the greater expanse of the Pacific waters and might as well have detected the flowing waters of the Gulf Stream and the circulating weed-jam of the Sargasso Sea. The latter must necessarily be like milk-curds with its thick and extensive accumulations of sea-weeds covered over with foam through which it is very difficult to sail. This is another realistic simile like the Ghṛtoda. Then Kṣīroda, the ocean of milk, is an appropriate name for the Pacific. In comparison with the Atlantic waters which are enclosed within narrower bounds, the

Pacific waters must appear calm and hence milk-like. The qualification for both the names-milk and pacific-are the same: calm, smooth, pleasant, etc. It is an agreeable surprise that the two names given by peoples of different ages and different places have essentially identical connotations! Let me here point out that milk, curd, and ghee are only the three stages of one single process of the same article and here also it is in the fitness of things that the three oceans in consecutive order are christened as representing a like phenomenon ending in the frozen mass of water and lends me full help and support for their identification as such. I think it is almost irresistible. The last is the Śuddhoda, the largest of the oceans encircling as it is the whole southern belt of the earth. It means the ocean of pure water which may mean 'unrestricted water' at the most.

This ocean comes after Puṣkaradvīpa and one might raise an objection as to its east-west position. For this I would request to arrange the names of the Dvīpas and the oceans in a cyclic order. (Plate V). Now the Indian way of proceeding in a circle is Pradakṣiṇa i. e. going towards the south. When we proceed in this way we first go to Kṣāroda and then to Puṣkara, to Śuddhoda, to Suvarṇabhūmi, again to Śuddhoda that is to Kṣīroda, to Śāka, and so on. Thus by our passage in a Pradakṣiṇa circle even though the Śuddhoda lies east and west, its position lies in our natural path and presents no anomaly. (Plate IV). The Pradakṣiṇa order arranges the oceans in a correct and interesting sequence in accordance with the Hindu articles of rituals of daily worship, especially the Abhiṣeka—the ceremoinal bath. I mean the natural order of the constituents of the Pañcāmṛta mixture which consists of milk, curds ghee, honey (madhu—Suroda), and sugar (Ikṣurasoda). This, by the way, debars any other order of sequence of the oceans and hence of the Dvīpas also.

Thē last item in the chief divisions of the old geography of the world is that 'beyond this Śuddhoda ocean lies the Suvarṇabhūmi,' which is described as impregnable to man and in whose midst is located the Lokāloka mountain standing as it were as a barring sentinel between this and the other world. No elucida-

tion is needed here as all know that sun shining on this ice-cap of the Antarctica will transform its appearance into beautiful golden colours. 'Southern Lights' will have the same effects on this ice as the 'Northern Lights' have on the northern parts of the Kuśadvīpa. And the modern exploration has shown to the world that the southern continent-the Suvarṇabhūmi-is a vast plateau well-nigh high than the surrounding sea-level. It is to be noted that the part which faces the South Pacific is a steep mountain scarp around the Ross Sea.[1] (Plate IV).

Here the Bhāgavata comes to our succour and gives a very realistic description of the position of the Suvarṇabhūmi. It says, 'There is another golden and mirror-like land as big in size as there is the distance between the Meru and the Mānasottara and if a thing is thrown thereon it cannot be obtained back, for which reason it is deserted by all beings.'[2] This statement reduces the position of three Dvīpas in terms of degree measurements and incidentally explodes the theory of concentric lands and waters. We have seen that the distance between the two mountains is about 45° as they are situated on the tropics. So the Suvarṇabhūmi must also be of that much expanse which the present Antarctica continent actually is bounded as it is by the Antarctic Circle.

There is one more point worthy of note and explanation. According to the orthodox view the Krauñcadvīpa is bounded by Ghṛtoda and Daḍhimaṇḍoda and Śākadvīpa is bounded by Daḍhimaṇḍoda and Kṣīroda. So there can be no Kṣiroda near the Krauñca and still we have in the Purāṇas that the Krauñca mountain is situated on the Kṣīroda coast.[3] This means that the Kṣīroda washes the coasts of Krauñca as well as Śāka. Not only that this fact supports my identification of Krauñca as N. America and Śāka as S. America but supplies another piece of evidence to explode the canard of concentric theory and this time in another hemisphere altogether.

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1 Gregory's Geography, P. 279.

2 Bhāg. 5. 20. 35.—यावन्मानसोत्तरमेर्वोरन्तरं तावती भूमिः
काञ्चन्यन्यादर्शतलोपमा यस्यां प्रहितः पदार्थो न
कथंचित्पुनः प्रत्युपलभ्यते तस्मात्सर्वसत्त्वपरिहृतासीत् ॥

3 **Bhāg. 2. 20. 19.**

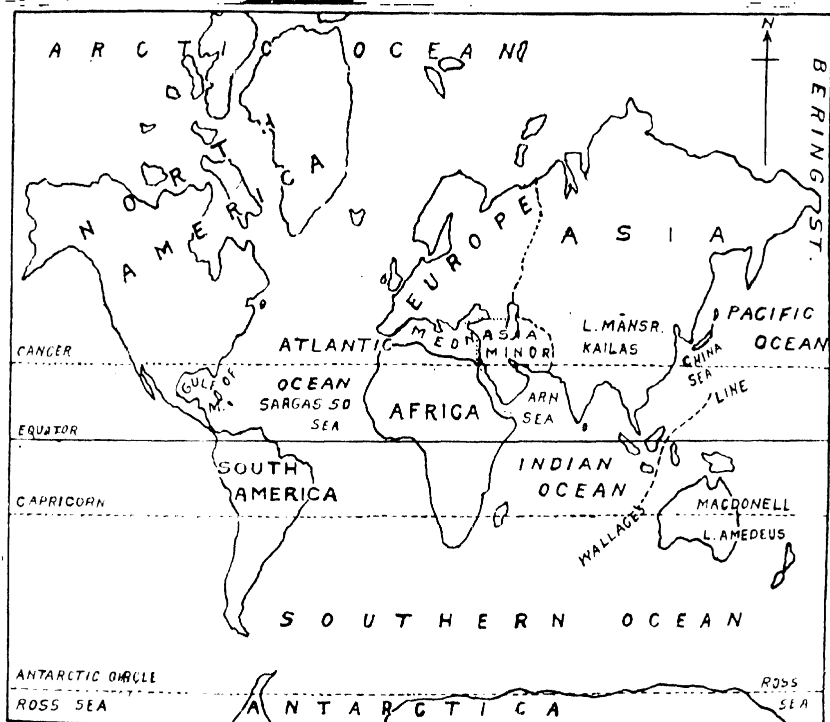
These facts together with the identification of the oceans in the Pradakṣiṇa and the Pañcāmṛta orders automatically determine the positions of all Dvīpas, if need be, by the process of elimination and at once place me on a very firm ground.

Thus I put forth my exposition of geography of the world as conceived by our forefathers and I believe that I have been able to do so literally that is to say without twisting the sacred texts on the one hand and without disfiguring the present arrangement of land and water on the globe on the other hand. I have done this by simply changing the emphasis – tackling the problem from this side of the picture, I mean the Indian side and starting with the thin end of the wedge which is the Strait of Bering in this case. The identification which I have submitted affects so many issues that they require critical sifting at the hands of abler men. Especially I point to the east–top theory, the meaning of the term Dvīpa, the meru and the Lotus theories, the widening of the lands in geometrical progression, the westering of waters in accordance with the Purāṇic descripiions, the Pradakṣiṇa cyclic order theory and lastly the Pañcāmṛta order theory.

THE WORLD.

Showing Present Names.

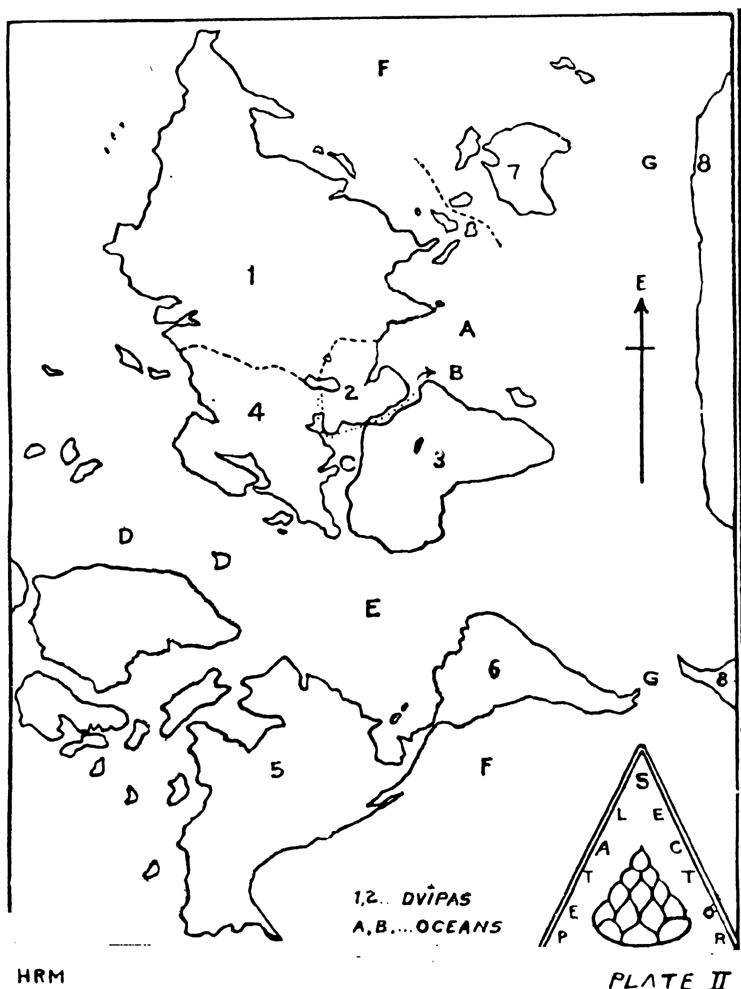
NORTH.



SAPTADVĪPĀ PṚTHIVĪ.

Showing The World-Lotus and its Petalled Expansion.

EAST.



HRM

PLATE II

SAPTADVĪPĀ PṚTHIVĪ.

Surrounding Jambu with Meru in its Midst.

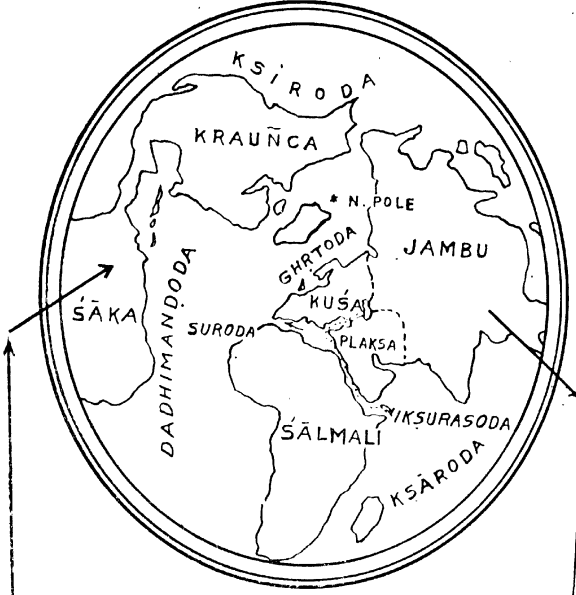
EAST.

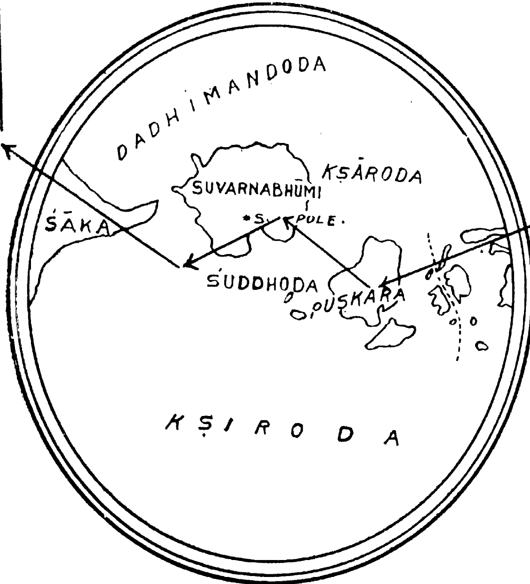


HRM PLATE III

SAPTADVĪPĀ PṚTHIVI.

Showing Pradakṣiṇā and (Pañcāmṛta) Order.





ORDER

JAMBUDVĪPA
KṢĀRODA
PUṢKARADVĪPA
ŚUDDHODA
SUVARṆABHŪMI
(ŚUDDHODA i.e.)
KṢIRODA
ŚĀKADVĪPA
DADHIMAṆḌODA
KRAUÑCADVĪPA
GHṚTODA
KUŚADVĪPA
SURODA
ŚĀLMALIDVĪPA
IKṢURASODA
PLAKṢADVĪPA
KṢĀRODA
JAMBUDVĪPA

HRM

PLATE IV

SAPTADVĪPĀ PṚTHIVĪ

CYCLIC ORDER OF DVĪPAS AND SAMUDRAS

....o....

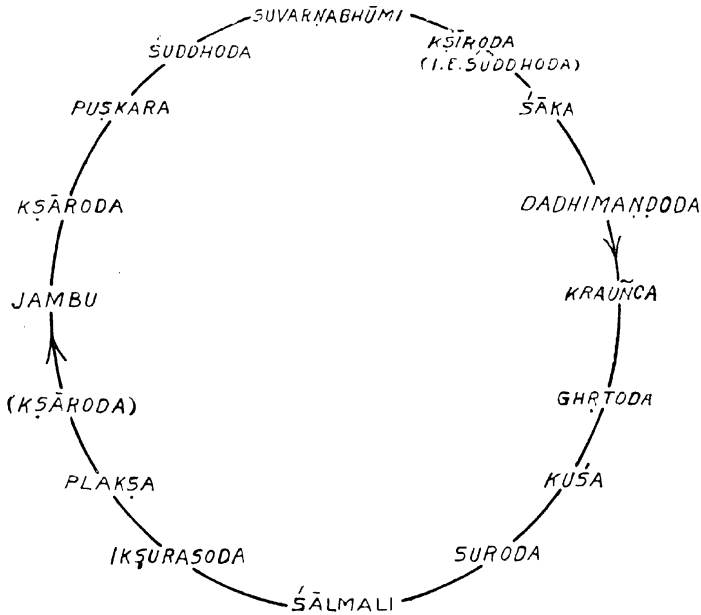


PLATE V

THE FORMATION OF KOṄKAṆĪ *

BY

S. M. KATRE, M. A., Ph. D. (London).

α) Gender:—

masc. or fem.	neut.
bhirAmḍ	*bhiràmḍ*
zãmbAḷ	*zãmbàḷ*
pàṇAs	*pàṇàs*
curAn	*curàn*
bheṁdAs	*bheṁdàs*
kẽsAr	*kẽsàr*
mãṭAv	*mãṭàv*
bheṁdAr	*bheṁdàr*
kàrmAl	*kàrmàl*
õvAḷ	*õvàḷ*
kegAd	*kegàd*
kàlAm	*kàlàm*
dhukAr	*dhukàr*
màzAr	*màzàr*
ànAn	*ànàn*
kãṁdAv	*kãṁdàv*
sàkAṭ m.	*sàkaṭ*
mAv	*màv*
suṁdAr	*suṁdàr*
mhãrAg	*mhãràg*
nibAr	*nibàr*
zAṇ	*zàṇ*
zAḍ	*zàḍ*
thAṁḍ	*thàṁḍ*
cAḍ	*càḍ*

β). Number:—

sing.	plur.
fatAr	*fatàr*
mãṁṭAv	*mãṁṭàv*
nãṁgAr	*nãṁgàr*
pàṇAs	*pàṇàs*
vãṁdAr	*vãṁdàr*
cAḍ	*càḍ*

* Continued from the Annals Vol. XVIII Part (ii) p. 120.

In fact, for every example quoted in ∝) above we have the plural with *à* instead of *A*. Further, in inflection, the oblique form is obtained by the change of *A* into *à*.

γ). Alternation in the presence of *i* or *u* in the neighbouring syllable : *pAṁcvīs* (*páñca-viṁśati-*) twentyfive : *pàṁdrā* (*páñca-daśa-)* fifteen ; *khArḍī : khàrdo*; *mAḍkī : màḍko* ; *tAklī : tàkli* ; *pAnsūl : pànAs ; pfAḍkūl : pfàḍ*; *kAdūl : kàdẽ* ; *tAḷī : tàḷẽ* ; *pfAḷī : pfàḷẽ* ; *āstAlī : āstàlo* ; *vàčo : vAcūṁk* ; *bàrā-bArī*; *mhAṇūn : mhàṇje*, etc.

§ 43. We are now in a position to formulate the general rule so far as gx. is concerned : MI-A *a* becomes *A* or *à* in gx. depending upon whether MI-A. *a* was originally followed by an *i* or *u*, or not.

Case ∝). MI-A. masculine nouns ending in *a*, in inflection end in *-u* in the Apabhraṁśa stage in the nominative singular, and this final *u* is lost in gx; similarly the feminine nouns end in either *-i* or *-u* which is lost in gx. ; again neuters end in *-am* ; thus *māṭAv*, masc. is derived from Sk. *maṇṭapaḥ*, MI-A. *maṇṭavo*: Ap. *maṇṭavu* or **māṭavu* ; similarly the neut. *māṭàv* is from MI-A. **maṇṭapam* : Ap. **māṭavam*, the play of *à* and *A* following the rule formulated above. Of the feminine forms of adjectives like *suṁdAr*, *nibAr*, z*Aḍ*. etc. as opposed to the *à* forms of the same in neutre, it is enough to compare them with corresponding s. gs. forms *suṁdari*, *nibbari*, *jaḍi*, etc. deriving from MI-A, forms in *-ī*.

Case β). gx. *fātAr*, sing. is from Sk. *prastaraḥ* : MI-A. *pattharo*, Ap. *pattharu*, a stone ; the plural *fātàr* is from Sk. *prastarāḥ* MI-A. *pattharā*, and hence the *à*. This can be verified in the case of every example quoted in the previous section.

In § 42 γ) we see this play of the two vowels in the actual presence of *i* or *u* in the neighbouring syllables. In this respect there is no difference between these phonemes and the *o*-phonemes of s. gs. etc. and it is difficult to understand the reason for the retention of special symbols when both in actual pronunciation and the behaviour in morphology, etc. they are alike.[1] That

[1] Cf. V. J. Janin Rangel, *Gramática da Lingua Concani*, Bastorá, 1933, p. 2 § 5 : "Em concani não se utiliza presentemente o som de fechado vacillando entre *a* e *o*, como nas linguas sanscrita e marata." Thus on the one hand some scholars advocate symbols for special sounds the existence of which on the other hand is completely denied by others.

mistakes are committed even by writers who follow this transcription is evident from only two of the many examples that one may pick up from such writings : on page 144 of *Elementos Gramaticais*, we find the form *dhônī*, which should really be *dhAnī* according to the orthography suggested by the author, since the word is derived from Sk. *dhanín-* ; the other form in question is *gàro*, which should be *goro*, as deriving from Sk. **gaurá-ka-* : MI-A. **gorao* white. In these circumstances the retention of such special symbols is redundant and smacks of etymology wrongly applied ; speech sounds should be represented as correctly as possible, and I have tried to find a justification for these symbols, but after hearing the Christian community of Goa speak, and after many trials with the examples in the previous sections with different persons for a phonetic evaluation, I cannot countenance this innovation mainly on the basis of etymology. In the dictionaries of Furtado MI-A. or Dravidian *a* is regularly represented as either an *o* or an *ā*. [1]

§ 44 In x. also there is a regular tendency to pronounce the MI-A. *a* as a vivṛta as in Dravidian, and it is thus often confused with *ā* of which it is the short variety. Where there is no such confusion it is nearly always pronounced as *o*. Thus, following the system of Furtado's dictionaries, every MI-A. *a* is either *à* or *ā* in x. (where *à* is equal to *ŏ*). A few examples of confusion between MI-A. *a* and *o* in x. may be quoted here : x. *koḷo*, s. gs. *kaḷo*, gx. *kàḷo* ; *kobu*, s. gs. *kabbu*, Can. *kabbu* ; x. *goroz*, gx. *gàràj* ; etc. where an original *a* is represented as x. *o*. Thus here too we find that in spite of different symbols used for the *a*-phoneme, there is confusion rampant in representation of words.

§ 45. In nx. a similar state of affairs exists. Mgr. Dalgado uses the etymological Devanāgarī symbol, though in his *Observations* he says that it is approximate to short, close *o*, dropped in many cases, but close in feminine nouns and open in neutre nouns. This corresponds to what we have seen in gx. which should be taken as the standard for all x. dialects except in syntax and vocabulary (so far as direct borrowings from Portuguese are concerned). In addition to these different kinds of the -*a*-phoneme Canon J. de S. Rita e Souza mentions the mute *a*, which

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[1] For MI-A. *a* > gx. *ā*, see, § 26 α) ii.

is glided over in pronunciation with reference to the rhythm of words.

§ 46. In s. and gs. the state of affairs is slightly different. Here PI-A. and MI-A. *a* has regulary come down as *a*, except when affected by the law of labialisation. The case of *phāttoru* : *phāttara* has already been discussed. Similar to this, we have the forms *vača* : *vočūka*, *martā* : *morūka*, *kartā* : *korcẽ* (through **korᵘcẽ*).

A slightly variant case of the above may be seen in the dual pronunciation of such words like *vata* : *vota*; *vhakkala vhokkala vharėtu*: *vhoretu*; etc. The presence of the bilabial *v* in the syllable explains the labialisation in these cases.

§ 47. We are now in a position to formulate the general behaviour of PI-A. and MI-A. *a* in the dialects of Koṅkaṇī. In the Christian dialects it is labialised throughout, except when it is represented as *ā*, as shown in many gx. words. In the Hindu dialects the labialisation takes place only in the presence of labial elements, and in g. the penultimate *-a-* becomes *-ȧ-*, and the final *-a* of verbal forms in dissyllabic words also becomes *-ȧ*. We have also seen that these altered vowels (short and long, open as well as close, the last depending upon the following vowel) play the same rôle in morphology as the neutral vowel *a*. I have therefore not deemed it necessary in the following section to differentiate the two phonemes *ȧ*, *A* and *o*, *ō*. The latter will represent all the varieties, as it is futile in view of the discussion above to keep to separate symbols merely on the basis of etymology.

E. Prakrit Vowels in Contact

§ 48. As a result of the loss of intervocalic single consonants in MI-A. we find vowels coming into contact in the Prakrit languages without coalescing; but even here, at times, certain consonants have been inserted to break the hiatus; the most common of these, called by German scholars "hiatus-tilgers" are *y* and *v*; in fact in many Jain Mss. a *laghu-prayatnatarayakāra* has developed. Less common are *r* and *h*, seen in Pāli *atha-r-iva*, etc. There are cases where even *-t-* or *-d-* or *-g-* act as "hiatus-tilgers," but the reason for their existence is more

historical than due to a fresh insertion. Now in NI-A. we observe the tendency to eliminate the hiatus in three ways: (i) it conserves the individuality of the vowels by the insertion of *y* or *v*; (ii) it combines them into diphthongs, and (iii) finally it contracts them into a single vowel.

I. Insertion of *y* and *v*.

§ 49. A. Insertion of *y* :- *y* replaces

Sk *k* in s. gs. ***kāyaḷo*** (*kāka-*).

Sk. *j* in s. gs. ***rāyu*** (*rā́jan-*).

Sk. *t* in s. gs. ***ǰāyi*** (*jāti*), ***ghāyu*** (*ghāta-*), ***māyi*** (*mātar-*)[1]

Sk. *d* in s. gs. ***pāyu*** (*pāda-*).

B. Insertion of *v* :— *v* replaces.

Sk. *k* in g. ***kāvaḷo*** (*kāka-*).

Sk. *g* in ***ǰavaḷā*** (*yugala-*).

Sk. *c* in s. gs. ***sūva*** (*sūci-*).

Sk. *t* in ,, ***māvuḷo*** (*mātula-*).

Sk. *j* in ,, ***rāvu*** (*rā́jan-*).

Sk. *d* in ,, ***pāvu*** (*pāda-*).

Sk. *y* in ,, ***sāvḷi*** (*chāyā*).

Pk. *h* in ,, ***mevṇo*** (*maithuna-*: Pk. *mehuṇa-*), ***mhōvu*** (*mádhu-*: Pk. *mahu-*).

We note that in some cases both the treatments hold good; in one type the distinction is due to difference in dialects: s. gs. *kāyḷo*, but g. *kāvḷo* (the *-a-* penultimate being slurred over); in the other it is due to difference in meaning: *pāyu* foot, *pāvu* a measure, equal to one fourth seer. In the case of *sūva*, s. gs. *suvva*, there is a possibility of confusion with the verb *śivvaytā*, since gx. has *sūi*, the expected form.

II. Diphthongs.

§ 50. In the southern and Hindu dialects there are only two diphthongs *ai* and *au*; and since the Christian dialects have the

[1] Perhaps influenced by Sk. *māmaḥ*

labial *o* (*ò* or *A*) for MI-A. *a*, we have the diphthongs *oi* and *ou* ; sometimes also, due to labialisation we have in s. gs. *ou*.

ai ∠ *a* + *i* : *baisa* (*upaviśa*), *mhaiśi* (*mahiṣī*), etc.—in ns. ngs. *vairi* (*upári*) we have an anticipation of the final *i*.

ai ∠ *a* + *e* : g. *pais* (*pradeśa-*).

au ∠ *a* + *u* : *cau* (*catuḥ-*) in *cauku*, *čauto* (besides *čouto*), *čaudā* or *čoudā*, etc. ; *mau* or *mou* (*mṛdú-*).

au ∠ *a* + *o* :

oi ∠ *a* + *i* : gx. *voir* (s. gs. *vairi*) :

ou ∠ *a* + *u* : s. gs. *mou* (*mṛdú-*), *čouto*, *čoudā*, *čoutīsa*, etc. (Sk. *catuḥ-*) ; g . *ćoutis*.

§ 51. If the first vowel is long, the hiatus generally persists, and in most of the dialects a secondary *y* or *v* may be inserted : *māuśi* (*mātṛ́-*) *ghāisogo* (*ghāta-śoka-*), *rāulāra* (*rājakulāgarā-*), *gāi* or *gāyi* (Pk. *gāvī*, quoted by Patañjali in his Māhābhāṣya), *āitvāru*, *āitāru* (*āditya-*), *pāuṇ* (*pādona-*).

Similarly if the second vowel is long, the hiatus persists : *nhāi* (*nadī́*), *gāi* (Pk. *gāvī*) ; but it must remembered that in K. all final vowels are short, and the length for this purpose should be estimated from the historical standpoint.

III. Contraction.

α) The first vowel is *a*.

a + *i*, *e*, *u*, *o*.

§ 52. So far as *ai* is concerned, we find in K. forms like *pēṭa* (*Pratiṣṭhā* ; Sk. *pratiṣṭhāna-*: M. *paiṭhaṇ*, but Sk. *pratiṣṭhā* : M. *peṭh*) ; but it is more especially at the end of words that the reduction takes place as in Marāṭhī : *śeṇvi* (*senăpati-*) ; the termination for the nom.-acc. pl. of Sk. neutre nouns *-āni* > Pr. *āiṁ* K.-*ẽ*. etc.

Here we must consider the curious case of *-ai-* becoming at times *-a-* in the words *baisa*:- besides the form here mentioned we have in s. *bastā*, *baisūka*, *boscyāka*. As discussed by M. Bloch (*La langue marathe*, § 58) we cannot take recourse to the theory of contamination with the root *vas-* in view of the double reason of significance as well as Hindi influence for the initial *b-*. It is

probable as suggested by him that due to the presence of *s*,[1] the the diphthong is reduced in those cases where *s* combines with a following consonant as in *bastā*, *boscyāka* (for **bascyāka*, labialised). On the other hand we find that in K. *a˜śī* ∠Sk. *aśīti*–: Pk. *asīī* we have diphthongisation.

In the forms s. gs. *kaśśi*, *taśśi*, etc. from Sk. *tādṛśa*– etc. : M. *kaisā*, *taisā* (besides *kasa*, *tasa*) we have the same phenomenon as above, but quite regularly throughout in all the dialects.

§ 53. The reduction of *au* to *o* takes place in *covīs*, (Sk. *catuḥ*–) ; and to *u* in the absolutive *ūn* (from an older **auni* or **aunu*).

In the final position –*au* is reduced to *o* regularly, irrespective of the length of the initial element of the diphthong :

Sk. –*ako* : Pk. –*ao*, Ap.–*ao*, –*au* : *āṁbo*, *āvāḷo*, *ghoḍo*, *čaṇo*, etc. (deriving from Sk. *āmraka*, *āmalaka*– , *ghoṭaka*–, *caṇaka*–, respectively).

Sk. –*ato* : Pk. –*ao*, Ap. –*au* : *ākho* (*akṣata*–).

Sk. –*ado* : *pāḍvo* (*pratipada*–).

Sk. –*ayo* : *āsro* (*āśraya*–).

Sk. –*avo* : *pāllo* (*pallava*–).

Sk. –*āko* : Pk. *āo*.

Sk. –*āco* : *pisso* (*piśaca*–).

Sk. –*āto* :

Sk. –*ādo* :

Pk. –*āo* : nom. fem. pl. of nouns in –*ā* : *māḷo* (Pk. *mālāo*), etc.

a + *a*.

§ 54. —When one of the two vowels is long, the result of the contraction is *ā*.

A. The first *a* is long.

Sk. –*āja*–: *rāuḷār* (*rāja-kula*–), *āut* (*rājaputra*–).

Sk. –*āta*–: *vārẽ* (*vāta*–)

Sk. –*āda*–: *ārso* (*ādarśa*–), *vāna*[1] (*vādana*–), *sāṇa* (*chādana*–).

[1] Semi-tatsama with–*n*– instead of –*ṇ*–

Sk. *-āva-*: *divāḷi* (*dīpāvali-*)

Sk. *-āgā-*: *rāuḷār, kuḷār* (*-āgāra-*).

B. The second *a* is long.

Sk. *-akā*: *andhār*, s. gs. *kumbāru, kāmāru, čāmāru, etc.* (*-a-kāra-*)

Sk. *-avā-*: *upāsu* (*upavāsa-*).

Sk. *-atā-*: *cāri* (**catāri* for *cattāri* ; observe the palato-alveolar affricate).

Sk. *-āvā-*: *amāvāsyā* : *amāsa.*

In the case of nom. pl. of masc. nouns of K. ending in *-o*, which is *-e* (*ghoḍo* : *ghoḍe* ∠ Sk. *ghotakaḥ* : *ghothakāḥ*), the *-e* is not be traced to the inflected form in Sk. but to the uninflected form, and therefore to *-aka-*and not to *-akā* ∠ Sk. *-akāḥ*.

§ 55. Both the vowels are short.

When the two vowels were separated in Sk. by *y* (i. e if the group in Sk. was *-aya-*) the contraction was already accomplished in MI-A. : cf. Pa. *neti*: Sk. *náyati* : Aś *leṇa* :Sk. *layana-*; Pk.*-ei* (ending of 3rd pers. sing. pres.) : Sk. *-ayati*. If they were separated in Sk. by a single non-aspirated surd, this surd was lost in MI-A. giving rise to *ẏ* (*laghuprayatnatarayakāraḥ*) in the group *-aya-*, which in its turn gives rise to *-e-* in NI-A.

Sk. *-aka-* in the nom.-acc. neut. sg. in *ẽ* (*-akam*), and nom. masc. pl. of enlarged nouns in *-e* (*akāḥ* : *-aka-*) : *sūṇẽ* (*śunakam*), *ghoḍe* (*ghotakāḥ*), *āmbe* (*āmrakāḥ*).

Sk. *-aja* in *neṇa* (*-na-jan-*from *jñā*) " do not know. "

Sk. *-ata* in s. gs. *gello-*, *me-llo*, x. gx. *gelo*, *me-lo* (*gatá-*, *mṛtá-*) ; *śẽ* (*-śatam*), etc.

Sk. *-ada-* in *keḷẽ* (*kadalī*), but *bora* (*badara-*), see below.

Sk. *-aga-* in *śeṇa* (*chagaṇa-*).

In the case of K. *bora* we have to go back to MI-A. **bavara* with insertion of *v* in the place of the lost intervocalic *-d-*, already reduced to *bora* in Deśī ; among cognate languages, Marāṭhī and Gujarati, as well as Dravidian attest to this form.

In recent times *aa* is combined in the semi-tatsama s. gs. *ghrāṇa* (*gráhaṇa-*), *agrāra* (*agrahāra-*) *ugrāṇa* (*udgráhaṇa-*), etc. re-

sulting in *ā*; in several cases this *ā* is further reduced to *a* and then lost: *dasro* (for **dasaro*∠Sk. *daśaharā*).

β). The first vowel is *i* or *e*.

§ 56. Examples of *i* or *e* followed by *ā* in Koṅkaṇī are rare, and where they occur, are certainly borrowings from other dialects.

e + *a* 7 *e*: s. gs. *dēru* (*devara-*), *śēvo* (*cheda-*);

i + *a* 7 *e* or *i* in the middle of the word, *ī* (written *i* or *ī* in K.) at the end of the word:

e: *śeṁḍi* (*śikhaṇḍa-*) *śēḷi* (*śītala-*),

ī: *dīsu* (*divasa-*).

— In the final position *ī* is the normal characteristic of the fem. sg., Sk. *-ikā*: Pk. *-iā*: *-ia*, it is enough to say that this is the vowel characterising the fem. forms of all adjectives. Similarly, the neutres like *dhaī*, *ghī*, *pāṇī*, are to be explained.

i + *i* 7 *ī*:

i + *e* :- There are not many examples of this combination; from Sk. *nārikela-*: Pk. *nāri-ela-* we have s. gs. *nārlu* (for **nāraḷu* from possible **nāreḷu*: cf. nx. gx. *nāreḷ*) and x. nx. *nārl* (see § 24). This is generally the treatment in the interior of the word. In the final position there is first the insertion of *y*, with a subsequent, but not necessary, loss of *i*: the oblique fem. sg. of Pk. *-ie*: K. *-iye*, *ye*: *mātiye-* or *mātye-* from nom. sg. *māti*.

e + *i*: in the ending of the 3rd pers. sg. of causative Pk. has *-ei* and K. *-eyi*, *-ey* or *-ay* with reduction of *e* to *a*.

i + *u*: in the interior of the word *i* disappears, but in the final position *i* survives with the loss of *-u* developing from *-o*, in the infinitive in *-uṁ-k* ∠ Sk. *-itum*, *u* survives with the loss of *i*;-*duṇo* (Sk. *-dviguṇa-*: Pk. *diuṇa*, *duṇa-*); *vāṇi* (*vāṇija-*), from Pk. *vāṇi(ẏ)o*, Ap. *vāṇi(ẏ)u*.

γ). The first vowel is *u* or *o*.

§ 57. When contraction takes place, it is the timbre of *u* or *o* which determines the resultant.

u + *a* 7 *o*: *hora* (*vadhū-vara-*), *phoppaḷa* (*pūga-phala-*), *sonā* (*suvarṇakāra-*), etc.

u + a 7 *u* : *gavu* (*godhūma-*), *dhuttā* (*dhuvati*). *tū̃* (Pk. *tumaṁ* ∠ *tuvaṁ*); further all nouns ending in *-u* in K. when not derived from Sk. words ending in *-u* (see §§ 18-20) are from Sk. nouns ending in *-ukā* and similarly the K. neutres in *-ū̃* are from Sk. *-ukam*.

u + o 7 *u* : nom. sg. of K. in *-u* ∠ Sk. *-uko* : Pk. *-uo*.

u + u 7 *u* : *uṁbar* (*uduṁbára-*);

u + u 7 *o* : in the semi-tatsama *garodar* (*guru-udara*);

u + ı 7: *ū* : *dhūva* (*duhitṛ-*), *sū* (*sūcī*) ;

o + a 7 *o* : *thoḍẽ* (*stoka-*) ; gx. *ujo*, s. gs. *ujjo* (*uddyota-*)

o + i : either *y* is inserted in the middle of a word, as in *joyiṣi* or is reduced to *o* in *ǰośi*.

Contraction of more than two vowels.

§ 58. Examples of this type are quite rare ; we have *ār* (*ajagara-*: Pk. *a*ʸ*aara-*, *aaara-*), but *āy-lo* or *āilo* for Sk. *āgata-*with the retention of-*y*-. Generally in such cases the diphthong survives. In the fem. nom. pl. of nouns in *-i*, we have Pk. *-iāo*7 K. *-(i)yo*, gx. *-eo*, *-e(y)o*.

Nasalisation of vowels.

59. In general, when nasals occupy the final position in a word, and contraction takes place between the last two vowels, we have nasalisation : *śẽbhari*, *-śẽ* (*śatam*), *śī̃* (*śītam*), the dimunitives *-rū̃* (*-rūpam*) as in *pākhrū̃*, *vāsrū̃*, etc. ; the nom. sing. of neutres *-ẽ*, *-ī̃*, *ū̃* (Pk. *-aaṁ*, *-iaṁ*, *-uaṁ*). But if a nasal is preserved in the preceding syllable nasalisation of the final vowel of K. does not take place usually : thus *pāṇi*, *lōṇi* or *nōṇi* ; but a secondary nasalisation may affect them subsequently and we may have *lōṇī̃*.

The genitive ending of the plural in Sk. *-ānām* has become in K. *-ā̃* the *-n-* having lost its proper articulation, which is difficult to explain on the basis of Pk. *-āṇa* ; the explanation is to be found in the Apabhraṁśa ending *-āhaṁ*, *-ahaṁ*, on the basis of the singular in *-aha*, reminding us of Vedic *narā́m* as opposed to *narāṇām*. But in the neut. pl. Sk.*-āni* : Pk.*-āṇi* or more regularly *-āiṁ*, this loss is difficult to explain, unless based on the analogy of the singular forms *-aaṁ*, *-iaṁ*, *-uaṁ* etc. ;

similarly the instrumental singular Pk. *-eṇaṁ* (Sk. *-ena*) has already become *-ẽ* or *-ĩ* in Apabhraṁśa.[1] It will be apparent that *-n-* in these inflexions has undergone a special development.[2]

§ 50. It will be seen in the section dealing with consonants that a single intervocalic *-m-* has been spirantised and become *-ṽ-*; this nasalisation has then been transferred to the preceding vowel: thus *gā̃vu*, *nā̃va* (*grāma-*, *nāman-*); in certain endings also we have this nasalisation: first person sing. and pl. of verbs ends in *-ā̃* and *-õ* or *ũ* (Sk.*-āmi*, *-āmo*).

§ 60. In the interior of a word there are several treatments of the group: short vowel + nasal + consonant:

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[1] Sir George Grierson, in his critical review of M. Jules Bloch's *La langue marathe*, JRAS., 1921, p. 260, observes: 'M. Bloch derives *ẽ* from the Sanskrit *-ena* and here I am unable to follow him. I know of hardly any instances in Prakrit where medial *-n* has been dropped or weakened to a mere nasalisation. The one instance that is generally accepted is the form of the nominative plural neutre (*vaṇāiṁ* for *vanāni*), but the isolation of this fact renders it to me doubtful, and I hesitate to accept the equation as conclusive." On the other hand he suggests that Mar. *-e* ∠ Ap. *-eṁ* ∠ *-ahĩ*, remarking: "It is equally permissible to look upon it as a contraction of the locative termination *-ah͂* extended to the instrumental, as has occurred in other modern Indian languages." On the genetive termination *-ā* ∠ Ap. *-āhaṁ* he refers to Pischel § 370 where the Ap. ending is derived from the pronominal termination *-sāṁ* and not *ānāṁ*. Regarding Ap. *-ẽ -iṁ* : Sk. *-ena*, Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 143 observes. "A l'instrumental, *puttēṇa(ṁ) puttē*, *puttiṁ*, la désinence entière peut s'abréger, ce qui est contraire aux règles du prākrit; en outre la nasale perd son occlusion, comme en prākrit dans pl. neut. *-āiṁ*." Cf. op. cit., p. 144: "Étant donné que *putteṇa* donnait *puttẽ* (et *phalāṇi*, *phalāiṁ* dès le prākrit) on s'attend ici soit à **puttā̃ṁ*, soit à **puttāā*. Ces formes incommodes ont été remplacées par un double génitif. *puttaha* + *ā̃* issu de *-āṇaṁ*.", and "Déjà en prākrit la nasale de *puttānaṁ* avait débordé sur l'inst. *puttehiṁ* et le locatif *puttesuṁ*."

[2] Cf. Turner: *Gujarati Phonology* in JRAS., 1921, pp. 525-26, § 66 (2). "In inflectional suffixes *-ṇ-*, *-n-* became MI anusvāra or a nasalisation of the surrounding vowels. This process is already marked in the Prakrit spellings *-āiṁ-*, *-āṁiṁ-*, *-āi* beside *-āṇi*. In other forms *-eṇa* (Ap. *-eṁ*), *āṇaṁ* *-ṇ-* probably represented anusvāra, but the spelling lagged behind the change of prounnciation." Thus.

"nom. plur. neut. *-akāni* > G *-ā̃*.

instr. sing. *-akena* > Ap. *-aeṁ*, OWR. *-aĩ*, G. *-e*.

gen. plur. *-akānām* > OWR. G. *-ā̃*.

nom. plur. neut. *īni* > G. *ĩ* in *dahĩ* < *dadhīni*."

For further discussion on this problem refer to the article dealing with intervocalic nasals in the section: History of the Consonants, further down,

In case the consonant is unvoiced we have one of the two following treatments :

1 short vowel + nasal + unvoiced consonant, or

2 long nasal vowel + unvoiced consonant:—

s. *antrāṣṭi* (written *aṁtrāṣṭi* in the Comparative Glossary ∠ Sk. *antara-*), s. *nimbuvo*, gs. *limbiyo* (*nimbu-*), *vaṇṭi* (*vṛnta-*), etc.;— s. *cā̃pẽ* (*campakam*), nx. *ā̃k* (*aṅka*), etc. In my Comparative Glossary I have not in general indicated this fine distinction due to difficulty in printing ; but this is the general rule, that when the vowel is lengthened it becomes an *anunāsika* with the loss of the following nasal only when it precedes an unviced consonant. When, however, the following consonant is voiced, we have the following treatments :

3 short vowel + nasal + voiced consonant. or

4 long nasal vowel + nasal + voiced consonant:—

s. gs. *ā̃ṅga* (*aṅga-*), x. nx. gx. *ā̃ṅgoṇ*, s. gs. *ā̃ṅgaṇa* (*aṅganam*), etc. but s. nx. *aṅgi* (*aṅgikā*), s. *añjana* (lw. Sk. id), *ambrūta* (*amṛta-*) etc. : thus we have *candru* as opposed to *cā̃ndṇẽ*, *kaṇḍi* as opposed to *kā̃ṇḍūka.*

§ 61. In the case of s. gs. x. etc. there is not that special nasalisation in the case of long vowels followed by an earlier group of consonants the first of which is *r*, or when the group contained a sifflant or an aspirated palatal (see *La langue marathe*, § 69) : s. gs. *kāsvau* (M. *kāṁsav* and *kāsav*), *pākḷi* (M. *pāṁkḷī*) etc. But there are some special forms like s. gs. *hāṁtūḷa*, s. *āṁtuḷn*, gx. *āṁtūṇ āṁtūn*, nx. *āṁthuḷṇa*, *āṁtharūṇ*, etc. from Sk. *āstáraṇam*, etc. which should be attributed chiefly to Marāṭhī influence. A study of the southern dialects like s. gs. x. etc. in comparison with other modern Indo-Aryan languages shows that the absence of the nasalisation in these cases is the inherited characteristic, while the retention or presence of the nasal is due to Marāṭhī influence.

§ 62. Inversely Koṅkaṇī, like other Indo-Aryan languages shows a number of words in which denasalisation has taken place. Examples : *māsa* (*māṁsa-*), *vāso* (*vaṁśaka-*), *kāśẽ* (*kāṁsya-*), etc. ; similarly in *bhittari* (*abhyantara-*) and in the termination of the 3rd person plural of the present *-ati* (*-anti*), etc. the nasal is lost.

§ 63. Before proceeding to give the table of Koṅkaṇī vocalism one aspect of the s. dialect has to be studied. It is the general law in Indo-Aryan that the PI-A. group vowel + conjunct or double consonant has reduced itself in NI-A. to either

1 long vowel + single consonant (after assimilation in MI-A. stage, and reduction with compensatory lengthening of the vowels, if short before), or

2 short vowel + double consonant (after assimilation in MI-A, and retention of the group with reduction of the vowel, if long before). Thus we have *nāgḍo* (*nagná-*: Pk. *nagga-*), *rāti* (*rā́trī̆* : Pk. *ratti-*) etc. Now Panjabi preserves the double consonant generally as well as the etymological quantity, as in *rāt* (*rātrī*) and *ratt* (*rakta-*); Sindhi preserves the etymological quantity of the vowel, as in *rāt^e* (*rātrī*) and *rat^u* (*rakta-*).[1]

Now in s. we have such forms as *mātti* (*mṛ́ttikā*), *phāttoru* (*prastará-*) etc. where the cognate dialects like g. gx. etc. give us *māti*, *fātAr*, etc. As against these we have in s. forms like *rāti* (*rā́trī̆*); it is indeed difficult to explain this opposition. A study of s. shows that in the case of inherited words the double consonant is retained, but after it has already been lost elsewhere, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel; in this way only can be explained the group long vowel + double consonant. It is also interesting to observe here that where Panjabi and Sindhi differentiate between the forms *rāt* and *rat(t)*, coming respectively from Sk. *rā́trī* and *rakta-*, s. gives for the latter the word *ragata*, which is a semi-tatsama loan word.

Examples.

-kh(h)-: s. gs. *khākko*, nx. *kākh* or *khāk* x. *kāk* (Sk. *kákṣa-*, *kā́kṣa-*) the arm-pit; s. gs. *pākkā* wings as opposed to the sing. form *pāka* (*pakṣá-*); *lākkeka* as opposed to *lāka* (*lākṣā*) lac; similarly s. gs. *rākkūḍa* : gx. x. nx. *rākuḍ* (*lakuṭa-*) faggot etc.

-gg(h)-: s. gs. *māggiri*, x. gx. nx. *māgiri*, *māgir* (Sk. *mārga-*); but *mūgu* (*mudgá-*) green gram; *lāggi*, x. nx. *lāgi* (*lagna-*).

-cc-: s. gs. *pācci* aunt.

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[1] *L'indo-aryen*, p. 39

-jj-: s. gs. *kǎĵĵaḷa*, nx. gx. *kǎjoḷ* (*kajjala-*) unguent, lamp-black : s. gs. *mǎĵĵara*, nx. x. gx. *mǎjor* (*mārjāra-*) a cat, but *saǰ-ǰanu* (*saj-jana-*).

-ṭṭ(h)- : *lāṭṭūka*, nx. *lāṭumk* to roll a pastry (*yaṣṭi-* : Pā. Pk. *laṭṭhi-*) but *phāṭi* (*pṛṣṭhá-*) the back, *āṭa* (*aṣṭa-*) eight.

-ḍḍ(h)-: *gāḍḍava*, x. *gāḍāu*, gx. *gāḍũ*, nx. *gāḍhũ* (*gardhabà-*) an ass ; *māḍḍo*, x. nx. *māḍ* the cocoa-nut tree ; *māḍḍi*, x. nx. *māḍi* a kind of edible root ;-but s. gs. x. *hāḍa*, nx. gx. *hāḍ* (Sk. lex. *haḍḍa-*) bone.

-tt(h)-: s. gs. *māttẽ*, nx. *māthẽ*, x. gx. *mātẽ* (*mastakam*) the head ; s. gs. *mātti*, x. nx. gx. *māti* (*mṛttikā*) mud, dust ; *sāttẽ*, x. gx. nx. *sātẽ* (*chattra-kaṁ*) an umbrella, a parasol ;—but s. gs. *sāta* (*saptá-*) seven, s. gs. *hātu*, x. gx. *hāt*, nx. *hāth* (*hásta-*) the hand.

-dd(h)-: s. gs. *sōddūk*, x. nx. gx. *sōduṁk* (*śodhayati*) to seek ; *gāddẽ* a field (Kan. *gadde*).

-pp(h)-: s. gs. *āppaṇa*, gx. *āpuṇ* (MI-A. *appaṇo*) oneself ; s. gs. *kāppáḍa* x. gx. nx. *kāpcḍ* (*karpaṭa-*) cloth ; *pāppaḍu*, x. nx. gx. *pāpoḍ* (*parpaṭa-*) a fried cake.

-bb(h)-: s. gx. *sābbāri* (*sárva-*) much ; *gābbo* (*gárbha-ka-*) the core of the plantain trunk as opposed to *gābu* (*gárbha-*) conception. Cf. s. gs. *rābbūka* : *rābᵃtā* (**ramb-*: *lamb-*) to stay.

Of the exceptions in general we may quote examples of the *-n-* and *-m-*:

-n-: s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. *kān* (*kárṇa-*) the ear ; s. gs. *pāna* x. gx. nx. *pān* (*parṇá-*) a leaf ; s. gs. *māna* (*mányā*) the nape of the neck ;-but s. gs. *sonnāru*, x. gx. nx. *sonār* (*suvarṇa-kāra*) a goldsmith.

-m- : *kāma*, x. gx. nx. *kām* (*kárman-*) act, deed, occupation.

There is again the case of s. gs. preserving the group short vowel + double consonant (both of MI-A. stage, and later on this analogy) where the other cognate K. dialects show the group short vowel + single consonant :

-kk- : s. gs. *dhakko*, gs. *dhokko* : x. nx. gx. *dhoko* (Sk. dhātupāṭha : *dhakkayati* annihilates : B. O. H. P. L. M. *dhakkā*, Sdh. *dhaku*, G. *dhako*, M. *dhakā*, v. s. v. *dhakkā* in Turner-N.) shock.

-gg-: s. gs. *maggẽ*, but x. *mogẽ* a kind of cucumber ; s. gs. *raggaḍ-tā* massages but x. nx. *rogoḍ-tā*.

-cc-: s. gs. *vaččūka*, but x. nx. gx. *vočuṁk* (MI-A. *vaccaī*) to go, move on.

-jj-: s. gs. *ujjo*, x. gx. nx. g. *ujo* (*udyota-*) fire ; *sajjanu*, but x. g. *sojon* (*saj-jana-*) a quiet person.

-ṭṭ-: s. gs. *bhaṭṭu*, x. gx. *bhoṭu* (*bhártṛ-*) a priest.

-ḍḍ-: s, gs. *niḍḍala*, x. nx. gx. g. *niḍol* (*lalāṭa-*) the forehead; s. gs. *baḍḍi*, x. gx. *boḍi* (Kan. *baḍḍi*) a stick.

-tt- : s. gs. *vattā* (for *vač-tā* through **vač^a tā*), x. gx. *vetā* goes ; s. gs. *sattari*, x. nx. gx. *sotör* (*saptatí-* : Ap. *sattari-*) seventy.

-dd- : s. gs. *muddi*, x. nx, gx. *mudi* (*mudrikā*) a ring.

-pp- : s. gs. *ṭappāla*, nx. *ṭoppāl*, but x. gx. g. *topāl* the post.

-bb- : s. gs. *khabbari*. x nx. gx. *khobor* news, tidings; *ḍabbo*, x. nx. gx. *ḍobo* (cf. H. N. M. *ḍabbā* ∠Sk. *dárviḥ*) a small box or casket.

As against the form *māttē*, *sāttē* quoted above, we should also consider the forms which are apparent exceptions to this gemination like *mūta*, *sūta*. Now *mūta* (*mū́tram*) urine, is opposed to *māttē* (*mastakam*) head, in the same way as *sūta* (*sū́tram*) string, is opposed to *sāttē* (*chattra-kam*) ; in the first case we have dissyllabic words and in the second polysyllabic words in PI-A. or MI-A. stage. This fact gives us the clue at least so far as s. and gs. are concerned : when etymologically connected with polysyllabic words in MI-A. or PI-A. s. gs. preserve the long vowel and double consonant, but when connected with dissyllabic words the consonant group is reduced. This fact is further strengthened by morphological evidence, for in s. gs. from the nom. sg. form *mūta* we have the oblique forms *mūttāka*, *mūttāṁtu*, *mūttāri*, etc. ; similarly from *śīta* rice, we have *śīttāri*, *śīttāṁtu*, and from *hātu*, *hāttaṁtu*, *hāttānē*, etc. The characteristic of all K. dialects is the indecision in the use of the long and short varieties of *i* and *u*, and it is possible in some cases that only the short is pronounced. But the actual pronunciation in s. gs. and the analogy of *hātu* : *hāttāri* justifies the long vowel in the case of *i* and *u*. This treatment, depending on the number of syllables holds good also in the so-called exception *-n-* quoted above : *māna* : *mānneri*, *kānu* : *kānnāṁtu*, *pāna* : *pānnāri*. That the *syllabic quantity* in MI-A. is the cause of this gemi-

nation may be proved by the examples *sāṇa* : *sāṇēri* (*chādana-*) and *śeṇa* : *śeṇācē* (*chagana-*).

§ 64. Colouration of vowels in words or word-groups (inflected or otherwise) is a characteristic which Koṅkaṇī shares with Bengali and other NI-A. dialects. Of the most important are the law of labialisation and the law of palatalisation.

A) Law of Labialisation.

In the presence of a labial vowel a preceding vowel is labialised if short. Long vowels remain unaffected as also in general the vowels *i* and *u*. Thus we are left with the vowel *a* for most of these examples.

-a- + *-u-* : *martā* (through **mar^a tā*) : *morūka* (through **ma^u rūka*) ; *parā̃* day after tomorrow : *porū̃* last year (Sk. *para-*) ; *phāttaṛu* : *phāttōru.*

Another case of labialisation is the colouration of the vowel through a labial consonant, noticed already in MI-A. in the case of the development of the *ṛ*-vowel. The examples we quoted in § 46 of words in *v-* suffice.

B) Law of Palatalisation.

The scope of this law is not so universal as that of labialisation. Here too only a short vowel can be affected : *mīri* pepper, black pepper (Sk. *maricaḥ* : Pa. *marico,* Pk. *maria-*, *miria-*, whence Sk. lex. *mirikā* f. a particular plant : B. *miri*, H. M. Sdh. *mirī*).

Opposed to this colouration there is also the discolouration of vowels through the principle of dissimilation. In the former case there is an assimilation of the character of the following vowel due probably to anticipation ; but in the case of discolouration this anticipation results in dissimilation. Thus we have s. gs. *uṁdūru,* gs. *viṁdūru*, sv. *uṁdir*, g. *huṁdir* x. nx. gx. *uṁdĭr* (Sk. *undura-*, *unduru-*, Sk. lex. *undaru-*, *indūra-*) a rat, mouse. The dissimilation has already been carried out in Sanskrit lexicon forms.

§ 65. The examples of Epenthesis and Anaptyxis will be considered towards the end of our study of the history of the consonants. We are now in a position to give the table of Koṅkaṇī vowels with reference to their development from PI-A. through the MI-A. stage.

KONKAṆĪ VOWELS.

a

§ 66. In the initial syllable.

K. *a* = MI-A *a* ∠PI-A. *a*, see § 12 A.

= MI-A. *a* ∠ PI-A. *ṛ*, see § 8.

In the interior of a word K *a* may represent all PI-A. or MI-A. vowels, see § 30.

In the final position in s. gs. K. *a* represents the final -*ā* of feminine nouns of PI-A. and MI-A., see § 19. It may also represent the final -*a* of neutre nouns of PI-A. or MI-A. which remain neutre in s. gs., see § 18 (b).

K. *a* forms diphthongs *ai*, *au*, with *i*, *u*, derived from PI-A. *i*, *e*, and *u*, *o*, respectively. § 50.

For K. *a* occurring as *à* or *A* (i. e. in our notation *ŏ* or *ō*) see §§ 32-47.

ā

§ 67. In the initial syllable,

K. *ā* = MI-A. *ā*∠PI-A *ā*, or *a* in heavy syllable. see § 26.

= MI-A. *a* in heavy syllable ∠ PI-A. *ā*. or *a* in heavy syllable, see § 26.

= MI-A. *ā*, or *a* in heavy syllable ∠ PI-A. *ṛ* in heavy syllable, see § 8.

In the non-initial position K. *ā* is the result of a contraction of *ă̄* + *ă̄* of the MI-A. stage, see § 31 (b).

§ 68. Observations on K. *ă̄*.- K. *a* in the initial position of the word *gavḷi* (*gopālá-*) a cowherd, needs some explanation. In fact we have in MI-A. form like *gava-* (for *go-* through the oblique *gavā*), which in conjunction with *govāla-*, *govāli-*(*ṇī*), *govāli*(*y*)*ā*, etc. have given us for K. and other NI-A. languages the form *gavāḷi* through PI-A. *go-pālin* :MI-A. *govāli* **gavāli*, **gavāli-*(*ya-*).

i

§ 69. In the initial syllable,

K. *i* = MI-A. *i* ∠ PI-A. *i*, see §§ 12 B., 27.

= MI-A. *i* ∠ PI-A. *ṛ*, see § 9.

In the final position

K. *i* = MI-A. *-iā* : *māti* (MI-A. *mattiā* ∠PI-A. *mṛttikā*).
= MI-A. and PI-A. - *ī* of feminine nouns : s. gs. *nhāi* (PI-A. *nadī*).
= MI-A. *-iu* : s. gs. *jāva(y)i* (MI-A. *jāmātiu* PI-A. *jāmātṛkaḥ*) son-in-law. We may take this example also under MI-A. *-ia* from MI-A. *jāmātia-*.
= MI-A. and PI-A. final *-e* : s. gs. *āmmi*, *tummi* (PI-A. *asmé*, **tuṣmé*: [1] MI-A. *amhe*, Mg. *asme*, Pischel § 419, and *tumhe*, Mg. **tusme*, Pischel § 422), see § 16 (g).

In the penultimate position

K. *-i-* = MI-A. *-i-* ∠PI-A. *-i-* or *-ṛ-*.
= MI-A. *-a-* sporadically, cf. s. gs. *pāṁjirẽ* (PI-A, and MI-A. *pañjara-*) a cage.

Initially in a certain number of cases

K. *i* = PI-A. *a* : cf. *iṁglo* (*aṅgārakaḥ* : late Sk. *iṅgārakaḥ*) a live coal ; *niḍḍala* (*lalāṭa-*) the forehead.

In the final position K. *-i* also represents MI-A. *-aï* : *śeṇvi* (MI-A. *seṇā-vaï-*).

In a certain number of cases K. *-i-* is also the result of *-ya* : *bhijtā* (cf. Sk. *abhyakta* , *abhy-āñjate* 3rd pl.) gets wet, *bhittari* (cf. Sk. *abhy-antaram*: **abhyantare*) inside, within.

K. *i* in heavy syllable may represent PI-A. *ī* : s. gs. *bhillo* (Sk. *bhītá-*) was afraid.

Note : Observations on short *i* or *u* of Koṅkaṇī, particularly in the initial syllable, are dependent on the number of syllables in the word ; whatever be their origin they are always long in dissyllablic words, see § 27.

ī

§ 70. In the initial position.

K. *ī* = MI-A. *i* in dissyllablic s. gs. words, see §§ 27, 69.

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[1] For the Marāṭhī forms *āmhī*, *tumhī*, Turner suggests derivation from MI-A. *amhehi*, *tumhehi*, the plural forms, for explaining the long final vowel. as opposed to the singular forms suggested by Bloch in *La langue marathe* ; cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (BSOS)*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 205.

= MI-A. *ī* ∠ PI-A. *ī* or PI-A. *ĭ* + consonant group, see § 25.

= MI-A. *ī* ∠ PI-A. *ṛ* + consonant group, see § 9.

= MI-A. *i* in heavy syllable PI-A. *ĭ* + consonant group, or *ṛ* + consonant group.

In the final position the quantity of *-i* is indeterminate; some dialects record a long vowel while others do not recognize the long variety at all. Thus the observations in the preceding article regarding final *-i* hold good for final *-ī* in those dialects where a final long vowel is tolerated.

K. *ī* = PI-A. *a* sporadically: s. gs. *mīri* (*marica-*) black pepper (see § 64 B.). This case should really go with K. *i*, as shown by other cognate NI-A. languages, but as already mentioned in § 27 this *i* becomes long in dissyllabic words.

K. *ī* is also the result of contraction of the MI-A. group *ĭ* + *ĭ*.

u

§ 71. In the initial position.

K. *u* = MI-A. *u* ∠ PI-A. *u* (only in polysyllabic K. words), see § 27.

= MI-A *u* PI-A. *ṛ* (" "), see § 10.

K. *u* in heavy syllable = MI-A. *ū* PI-A. *ū* or *ŭ* + consonant group or *ṛ* + consonant group.

K. *u* = MI-A. *o* ∠ PI-A. *apa-*, *ava-*.[1]

= PI-A. *va*.[1]

= MI-A. and PI A. *i* in the word *bũndi* (*bindu-*).

In the final position.

K. *u* = MI-A. *o* (Ap. *-u*), see § 18 (a).

As in Marāṭhī K. *u* alternates with *a* in a group of allied words: *phaḍko : phuṭ-tā, jhar-tā: jur-tā* (*kṣar-*), where the difference in form is due to semantic variation.)

For K. *u* as a result of contraction from MI A. see the following article.

[1] The examples given by M. Bloch in *La langue marathe* under this head suffice for Koṅkaṇī also.

ū

§ 72. **In the initial position.**

K. *u* = MI–A. *u* ∠ PI–A. *u* or *ṛ* (in dissyllabic K. words only).

= MI–A. *ū* ∠ PI–A. *ū*.

∠ PI–A. *ŭ* + consonant group, or *ṛ* + consonant group.

= MI–A *u* in closed syllable.

In the final position its length is indeterminate, but when the stress is on it we have the long vowel as in *Vāsū* : *Vāsu* (shortened form of *Vāsudeva*).

K. *ū* is also a result of contraction of a MI–A. vowel group whose first element is either *u* or *o*, see § 57 ; the only example where the final vowel is pronounced long is *tũ* (MI–A. *tumaṁ*, *tuvaṁ*), and this also serves for the non-initial case. In the case of K. *dhūva* we have the contraction in the first syllable with the characteristic long vowel. The second element of this MI–A. group may be any vowel.

e

§ 73. Before discussing the development of this vowel we may again lay stress on the fact already mentioned that barring the case of dissyllabic words of s. gs. the timbre of *e* depends upon the vowel in the following syllable, and besides, the length of these connected phonemes depends on the rhythmic scheme of the word (see § 26).

Initially K. *e* = MI–A. *e* ∠ (a) PI–A. *e* : *ēka*, *beta* (Sk. *vetra*–, Kan. *betta*), *śeta* (*kṣétra*–) etc.

(b) PI–A. *ai* : *tela* (MI–A. *tella* : PI–A. **tailya* , cf. *tailá*–) oil, *meuṇo* (Sk. *maithuna-kaḥ* : MI–A. *mehuṇa–o*) brother in law, etc.

In medial and final positions,

K. *e*∠PI–A. *aya*– (either through –*e*– or –*aya*– of MI–A.) : s. gs. *vaḷē*, *baḷē* (*valaya*–, **balaya*–) ; *ullayatā* : g. gx. nx. *uletā* speaks.

PI–A. *a* (palatalised either in MI–A. or NI–A. stage): s. gs. *bēli* (*vallī*); *śejārtı* (*śayyā* : *sejjā*).

=MI–A. *e* ∠ PI–A. *ī* : *khēḷu, kheḷ-tā* (*krīḍ-*: MI–A. *khel-*) unless MI–A. *khel-* in unconnected with PI–A. *krīḍ-*, cf. Sk. *kel-*; *keli* sport.

K. *e* ∠ PI–A. *-iya-* in s. gs. *nēmu*, x. nx. gx. g. *nēm* (*niyama-*).

In the final position

K. *e* ∠ PI–A. *-aka-*, see § 55.

As a result of contraction of PI–A. *-aka-*, *-aga-*, *-aja-*, *-ata-*, *-ada-*, etc., though MI–A. *-a(y)a-* we have K. *e*, see § 55.

We have also K. *e* through the contraction of a MI–A. group of vowels whose first element is either *i* or *e*, see § 56.

o

§ 74. The same observations hold good for *o* as were made in the case of *e*.

Initially K. *o* = MI–A. *o* ∠ (a) PI–A. *o*: *soḷā* (*ṣoḍaśá*).

(b) PI–A. *au*: *mōtī* (*mauktika-*) a pearl; *tomḍa* (**tauṇḍa-*: *tuṇḍa-*) mouth.

(c) PI–A. *apa* : x. gx. *ota*, s. gs. *vata* (*ātapa-*> **āpata-*> **apata-*> **avata-*).

(d) PI–A. *ava* : s. gs. *nōmī* (*navamī*) the ninth day of a lunar fortnight.

K. *o* = MI–A. *uva* < PI–A. *upa* in g. x. *oḷkhatā* (*upa-lakṣ-*).

Non-initially K. *o* ∠PI–A. *-uva-*in s. gs. *sonnāru*, x. gx. nx. g. *sonār* (*suvarṇa-kāraḥ*).

Initially *o* alternates with *va* : s. gs. *vallē*, x. *olē* (*ārdrá-*: MI–A. *alla-*); s. gs. *vata, vota*, x. gx. *ota*. We have probably the labialisation first before the disappearance of the initial consonant. Both Father Maffei and other scholars agree that in the x. words beginning with *e* or *o* an initial *y* or *v* respectively is heard in pronunciation.

K. *o* = MI–A and PI–A. *a* : s. gs. *čomci* (*cañcu-*: H. *cõc*. Guj. *cãc*, Panj. *cunj*, cf. Jain, § 28)[1]. The final *i* in s. gs. seems to be due to the feminine gender.

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[1] Already in Sk. we have *cañcu-*: *cuñcu-* and in lexicon forms we find *cucundari*, *chucchūndara-* a musk-rat.

As a result of contraction of MI–A. vowels in contact, the first of which is either *u* or *o*, we also find K. *o*, see § 57.

In the Christian and Northern Koṅkaṇī dialects, *o* represents besides (as *à* or *A*, see §§ 32–47) MI–A. *a* (derived from PI–A. *a* or *ṛ*).

§ 75. Both *e* and *o* in Koṅkaṇī, as we have seen in § 28, show difference in timbre in dissyllabic words through their relationship either with PI–A. *e* and *o*, or with *aya* and *ava* respectively.

HISTORY OF THE CONSONANTS.

§ 76. For the general evolution of NI–A. consonants through PI–A. and MI–A. reference may be made to Bloch's *La langue marathe*, §§ 14 ff. [1] These principles have been wonderfully clarified by Prof. Turner in his *Gujarati Phonology.* [2]

These principles may be briefly summarised here. The general evolution of PI–A. MI–A. Ap. NI–A. in general and K. in particular has arisen through progressive enfeeblement in the articulation of these stops resulting in (i) the loss of final stops, (ii) assimilation in consonant groups and (iii) sonorisation and finally loss of intervocalic single stops. [3] These three roughly indicate the probable historic growth ; thus Pāli which represents one of the earliest stages of MI–A. has consistenly lost the final consonants, and in general reduced the consonant groups through assimilation to double consonants with a few exceptions which it shares with some dialects of Aśokan inscriptions But sonorisation or loss of intervocalic stops has not as yet taken place, barring a few exceptions. But in the subsequent history of MI–A. we find sonorisation in certain dialects with complete loss in some others.

These threefold developments may be treated in four different categories as follows :

(a) Final consonants of PI–A. > lost in MI–A. > lost in NI–A

(b) Initial consonants of PI–A. > remained in MI–A. > remained in Ap. > remain in NI–A.

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1 See *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 50–94 for a general discussion of I–A. consonantism.

2 JRAS. 1921, pp. 505-508, §§ 34–38.

3 The cerebrals are an exception to this rule.

(c) Intervocalic stops of PI–A. :—

(1) surd in PI A. > sonant in MI–A.>probably spirant in Ap. (current as a spoken dialect) >zero in K. and NI–A.

(2) surd aspirate in PI–A.>sonant aspirate in MI–A or *-h-* in MI–A according to the dialect or language concerned> *-h-* in Ap. and NI–A. by loss of occlusion.

(d) Consonant groups of PI–A.>double consonants in MI–A. through the general principle of assimilation > (1) single consonant with compensatory lengthening or (2) double consonant in NI–A.

It should be understood at the very outset that these principles do not act in any given language without exceptions or with the precision of scientific laws in a given period. They only express the laws under *favourable conditions.* Thus in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī the dentals seem to have remained after sonorisation long after other consonants had disappeared in the intervocalic position. Closely allied with the dentals, but with greater force, the cerebrals retained their position after sonorisation from MI–A. to the NI–A. stage. Thus these laws summarise the tendency in a given language which will ultimately reduce the language to a norm which closely agrees with the form hypothetically arrived at by a rigorous application of these laws.

Under the above limitations and provisions, we can now give a table showing the character of Koṅkaṇī Consonantism.

	Initial or resulting from MI–A. consonant groups or double consonants				PI–A. intervocalic consonants	
	unaspir.		aspir.		unaspir.	aspir.
Gutturals	*k*	*g*	*kh*	*gh*	zero	*h*
Palatals [1]	*c*	*j*	*s* [2]	*jh*	zero	
Cerebrals	*ṭ*	*ḍ*	*ṭh*	*ḍh*	*ḍ* (*ḷ*)	*ḍh*
Dentals	*t*	*d*	*th*	*dh*	zero	*h*
Labials	*p*	*b*	*ph*	*bh*	*v*	*h*

[1] These palatals include the dento-alveolar as well as the palato-alveolar affricates, the former of which have been indicated everywhere by the symbols *č* and *ǰ*, *čh* and *ǰh*.

[2] This *s* ◁ MI–A. *ch*, has become identical with *s* ◁ PI–A. *ś*, *ṣ* or *s*.

So far we have treated only the class consonants or occlusives. The liquids, semivowels, sifflants and the nasals will be treated in their proper places.

§ 77. Initial single consonants in general have come down unchanged with a few excepions. Thus initial *n*–of PI–A. has become *ṇ*– in MI–A. and *n*– again in NI–A. ;[1] initial *y*– has become *j*– in most of the MI–A. dialects. Apart from these characteristic changes of MI–A. with regard to initial consonants, there is yet another change having a wider field, that of initial aspiration. There are a number of words in MI–A. and NI–A. where an aspirate (initial or non-initial) corresponds to an original PI–A. unaspirated sound.

Thus under this aspiration we have two cases : initial aspiration and non–initial aspiration.[2] But in the case of Koṅkaṇī the state of affairs is much simpler. Aspirates are not in general tolerated except in the initial position although the orthography used by Mgr. Dalgado or the *Novẽ Gõy* does not take into consideration the actual pronunciation. This being the case, we are left only with initial aspiration.

INITIAL ASPIRATION OF OCCLUSIVES.

§ 78. We have two cases of this initial aspiration : (a) this aspiration has already taken place in MI–A. and (b) it has not yet taken place in MI–A. but has done so in Koṅkaṇī.

(a) s. gs. *khas–tā*, *kas–tā* (*kṛṣ*– and MI–A. *khasaï*) tills; *khas–khas–tā* (*kas*–, MI–A. *khasiaṁ* n. a kind of disease) ;[3] *khoppōru*, *koppōru*, (*kūrpara* : MI–A. *koppara* without aspiration, and this should be classed with (b) below) the elbow ; *khel–tā* (*krīḍ* MI–A. *khēlaï*, *khellaï*) plays ; *jhāḍa* (*jāṭa* , cf. *jaṭā* : MI–A. *jhāḍa*, and Sk. lex. *jhāṭa*[4] arbour) ; *phāttōru* (*prastará*– MI–A. *patthara*–, Ap. **phattaru*) a stone , *pharsā–phāttōru* (Sk. *paraśu*–: MI–A. *pharasu*) a touch-stone.

[1] But see *Guj. Phonology*, § 48 (2), JRAS. 1921, p. 516—" it is doubtful whether initial *n*– became *ṇ*–, although so shown in most of the Prakrits, ' and *La langue marathe*, § 132 (indicated by Prof. Turner himself in his foot-note 1).

[2] For Marāṭhī see Bloch, *La langue marathe*, § 84 ff. ; for Gujarati, Turner, *Guj. Phonology*, § 40 ; for Panjabi, Jain, § 123 ff., p. 51 ff.. For the whole I–A. field, see *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 59–62.

[3] Cf. MI–A. *khasa–phasemāṇa*- falling, *khasa–phasi*– afflicted.

[4] See my *Initial jh– in Indo-Aryan*, § 13, Calcutta Oriental Journal, II, p. 104.

(*To be continued*)

THE DATE OF THE VIṢṆU PURĀṆA

BY

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The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[1] is one of the most important of the extant Purāṇas. It belongs to the Pāñcarātras and 'is the best representative of the whole class of sectarian Purāṇas, since it is purely Vaiṣṇava in its teaching from beginning to end and yet retains with considerable faithfulness the character of the old unsectarian Purāṇas'. In spite of its distinct character, it contains, like the other Purāṇas, several chapters on Smṛti-matter, viz., II, 6 (on hells), III, 8-16 (on the duties of the castes and the Āśramas, on customs in general, on impurity due to births and deaths, and on funeral sacrifices), and VI, 1-2 (on Yuga-dharma and Karma-vipāka) and 5 (on hells).

The problem of the date of this Purāṇa is a very difficult one, and scholars hold different opinions about it. F. E. Pargiter says: " It is a late Purāṇa composed as a single whole upon a consistent plan, and not a collection of materials of various times, as we find in the *Vāyu*, *Brahma* and *Matsya*. From its account of Buddhism and Jainism it appears to have been composed after Brahmanism had recovered its supermacy, so that it cannot be earlier than about the fifth century A. D. and it is Brahmanical"[2]; J. N. Farquhar opines, " The *Harivaṃśa* clearly cannot be dated later than A. D. 400, and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is so like it in most of its features that it is probable that it belongs to the same general date "[3]; M. Winternitz says, " Pargiter may be right in thinking that it cannot be earlier than the fifth century A. D. However, I do not think that it is much later "[4]: and C. V. Vaidya tries to prove that the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is not earlier than the ninth century A. D. on the hypothetical assumption that the

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1 This Purāṇa, which has preserved a very good text, does not differ remarkably in the different editions.

2 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 80.

3 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 143.

4 Winternitz, *History af Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 545, footnote 2.

Kailakila or Kaiṅkila Yavanas, mentioned in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* IV, 24, 16, reigned in Andhra between 575 and 900 A. D. and were at the height of their power about 782 A. D.[1] All these views, except that of Winternitz, are not beyond objection. It is necessary, therefore to determine afresh the date of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, which has been referred to by Alberunī and drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers and the religious teachers like Rāmānuja from the eleventh century A. D.

I have shown in one of my articles that the extant *Kūrma Purāṇa* has come down to us through two main stages; that in its earlier form it was a Pāñcarātra document composed between 550 and 650 A. D. but was later recast by the Pāśupatas between 700 and 800 A. D.; and that the theology of those chapters which have been retained in it, has considerable Śākta element like that of the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*.[2] Now a comparison, so far as theology is concerned, between the *Viṣṇu* and the Viṣṇuite *Kūrma Purāṇa*, shows that the former is older than the latter. In the *Viṣṇu P.*, Lakṣmī plays no part in creation as Viṣṇu's Śakti. Even, except in only one place (viz., I, 8, 27— aviṣṭambho gadāpāṇiḥ śaktir lakṣmīr dvijottama), there is no second mention of Lakṣmī as Viṣṇu's Śakti. The portion (viz., verses 15-32) of *Viṣṇu P.*, I, 8, in which this mention occurs and in which the inseparable connection of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī has been put forth, seems to have been interpolated later on account of the fact that the *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa), which has borrowed *Viṣṇu P.* I, 8 along with others,[3] does not contain it. The *Viṣṇu P.* itself also seems to prove the spurious character of these verses. In *Viṣṇu P.* I, 8, 14 Maitreya asks, " It is heard that Śrī came out of the ocean of milk during the churning. Then, how do you say that she was born of Khyāti by Bhṛgu ?" To this Parāśara's reply comes in a much later passage in *Viṣṇu P.* I, 9, 1, "Hear, Oh Maitreya, what you have asked me about. This (story) about Śrī I heard from Marīci." He then narrates the story. The nature of the above mentioned answer shows that it should follow

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1 C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval India*, 1, Poona, 1921, pp. 350f.; and JBBRAS, 1925, pp. 155f.

2 See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, 1935, pp. 265f.

3 The chapters borrowed by the *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa) from the *Viṣṇu P.* will be enumerated in my article on the former.

the query immediately and should have nothing intervening. Therefore the irrelevant verses, which separate the answer from the query, cannot but be spurious. Now, if the Viṣṇuite *Kūrma Purāṇa* was composed between 550 and 650 A. D., then the *Viṣṇu P.* cannot be dated later than the beginning of the seventh century A. D.

Let the *Bhāgavata* and the *Viṣṇu P.* be now compared. As regards contents the *Bhāgavata* is 'closely connected with the *Viṣṇu P.* with which it often agrees literally, and it is undoubtedly dependent upon the latter '.[1] By comparing the genealogies in both the Purāṇas, F. E. Pargiter has come to the conclusion tnat 'the *Bhāgavata* has used the *Viṣṇu* in its composition.'[2] Many myths and legends which are found in concise and older forms in the *Viṣṇu P.*, appear in the *Bhāgavata* in a much enlarged and elaborate version. For example, the stories of Dhruva, Veṇa, Pṛthu, Pralhāda, Jaḍa Bhārata and others, occurring in both the Purāṇas, may be compared. The *Bhāgavata* (Book X) 'contains the biography of Kṛṣṇa which is here given in much greater detail than in the *Viṣṇu P.* and in the *Harivāṃśa.* In particular the love scenes with the cowherdesses (gopīs) occupy a much larger space. '[3] In the *Viṣṇu P.* a hair of Viṣṇu is incarnated as Kṛṣṇa,[4] i. e. Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of an exceedingly small portion of Viṣṇu, but in the *Bhāgavata* he is called simply an 'aṃśāvatāra' (cf. *Bhāg.* X, 2, 9 and 16). In the *Bhāgavata* there are stories which are not found in the *Viṣṇu P.* The story of Kapila (*Bhāg.* III, 24–33) may be cited as an example. From all this it apperas that the *Viṣṇu P.* is older than the *Bhāgavata.* If the latter Purāṇa is assigned to the sixth cantury A. D.[5], the date of the former should be placed earlier.

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1 Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 555.

2 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 80.

3 Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

4 evaṃ saṃstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ |
ujjahārātmanaḥ keśau sita–kṛṣṇau mahāmune ||
uvāca ca surān etau mat–keśau vasudhā–tale |
avatīrya bhuvo bhāra-kleśa–hāniṁ kariṣyataḥ ||
Viṣṇu P., V, 1, 59–60.

5 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XIV, 1932–33, pp. 182f.; and *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VIII, pp. 107f.

In *Viṣṇu P.* II, 9, 16 the Nakṣatras are mentioned as beginning with the Kṛttikā (kṛttikādiṣu ṛkṣeṣu). The evidence of Varāhamihira (about 550 A. D.) that the old order of Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was changed for that from Aśvinī to Revatī in his time, shows that the old order could hold ground to a time not posterior to the end of the fifth century A. D. Therefore the *Viṣṇu P.*, which speaks of the old order, should be dated not later than the end of that century.

We shall now compare the *Viṣṇu P.* with the *Harivaṃśa* to see if the date of the former can be pushed further up. In the *Harivaṃśa* the biography of Kṛṣṇa is given at greater length and in greater detail, and Kṛṣṇa is called an 'aṃśāvatāra'[1] in the sense that Viṣṇu divided himself into Kṛṣṇa and Saṃkarṣaṇa for the good of the world.[2] In the *Viṣṇu P.* the Hallīśa sport has got various erotic touches but 'in the *Harivaṃśa* the whole story of his youth is told at greater length and the Hallīśa is treated as involving sexual intercourse.'[3] The stories have been developed and expanded in the *Harivaṃśa.* The story of Jarāsandha and that of the carrying away of the Pārijāta tree by Kṛṣṇa may be cited as examples. Besides these, there are many new additions found in the *Harivaṃśa.* For example, there are the Āryā-stava (*Harivaṃśa* II, 3) and the Puṇyaka-vrata observed by Satyabhāmā (*Harivaṃśa* II, 67–81). From all these we can safely conclude that the *Viṣṇu P.* is of earlier origin than the *Harivaṃśa.* If the lower limit of the date of the *Harivaṃśa*, which is named and quoted by Gauḍapāda in his *Uttaragītā-bhāṣya*[4] and cannot possibly, therefore, be later than sixth century A. D., be placed about 400 A. D.[5] then the *Viṣṇu P.* must

1 *Harivaṃśa* II, 49, 32—aṁśāvataraṇe kṛtsnaṁ jāne viṣṇor viceṣṭitaṁ.

2 Ibid., I[r], 14, 46—

ubhāveka-śarīrau svo jagadarthe dvidhākṛtau ।
ahaṁ vā śāśvataḥ Kṛṣṇas tvaṁ vā śeṣaḥ purātanaḥ ॥

3 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 144.

4 *Uttaragītā* with the commentary of Gauḍapāda, published by the Vāṇī Vilāsa Press, Śrīraṅgaṁ, p. 68—

tad uktaṁ harivaṁśe-
asatkīrtana-kāntāra-parivartana-pāṁśubhiḥ ।
vācaṁ hari-kathālāpa-gaṅgayaiva punīmahe ।

Also see fol. 10a of Ms M66A/17 (valuation number) in the Dacca University Mss Library.

5 Farquhar, *Outline*, p. 143: Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 464, footnote 2.

be dated not later than the middle of the fourth century A. D. Thus we get the lower limit of the date of the *Viṣṇu P.*

The mention of the zodiacal signs (Rāśis) at various places in the *Viṣṇu P.* [1] shows that at the time of composition of the Purāṇa these signs became quite familiar and were widely used. The familiarity of the ancient people with the Tithis. Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term *rāśi* from all early literature down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D. The mention of the word *horā* in *Viṣṇu P.* IV, 12, 13 is also significant. Though the occurrence of the term *horā* in two verses quoted by Varāhamihira from Garga [2], shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A. D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than the end of the first century A. D. Hence it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the *Viṣṇu P.*, which is familiar with the Rāśis and the Horā, was written not earlier than the end of the first century A. D.

Thus, the date of composition of the *Viṣṇu* P. falls between the end of the first and the middle of the fourth century A. D., i. e. between 100 and 350 A. D. The nature of the Smṛti-contents of the *Viṣṇu* P. as compared with those of the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, tends to show that the former is later than the latter. So, it is highly probable that the *Viṣṇu P.* was written in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A. D.

The view of F. E. Pargiter that the *Viṣṇu P.* 'cannot be earlier than about the 5th century A. D.' is based on *Viṣṇu P.* III, 17 and 18 describing the story of the Māyāmoha. It will be seen below that these chapters were most probably interpolated at a later date.

The summary of contents of *Viṣṇu P.* III, 17 and 18 is as follows :

Maitreya asks Parāśara to explain the word *nagna* used by the latter in connection with those who are to be shunned in a Śrāddha ceremony. Accordingly Parāśara begins a story which,

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[1] Viz., *Viṣṇu P.* II, 8, 28 and 30; II, 8, 41-42; II, 8. 62-63; II, 8, 70; II, 12, 19; III, 14, 5; and IV, 24, 30.

[2] *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, pp. 7 and 9.

he says, was narrated to Bhīṣma by Parāśara's grandfather Vasiṣṭha. This story says that in ancient times the gods, being defeated by the Asuras in a war which was continued for a divine year, went to the northern side of the ocean of milk and eulogised Viṣṇu who, consequently, produced Māyāmoha from his own body and gave him to the gods. This Māyāmoha, with his body stripped of all garments, his head shaved, and a peacock feather in hand, went to the banks of the Narmadā where the Asuras were living, preached to them the religion of 'the naked' (i. e. Jainism) and turned them Ārhatas. Next, the Māyāmoha put on red clothes, painted his eyes with collyrium and preached Ahiṃsā (i. e. Buddhism) to the remaining Asuras. As a result of this preaching the Asuras soon gave up the Vedic religion and got weekened. Consequently, they were attacked by the gods, defeated and masscred.

The above story of delusion, in which Viṣṇu creates the Māyāmoha from his own body with a view to delude the demons, is certainly later than that found in *Matsya P.* 24, 43–49. This latter Purāṇa says that once the sons of Raji became very powerful by virtue of their penance, took possession of the heavenly kingdom of Indra, and deprived him of his share in the sacrifices. Consequently, Indra sought the help of Bṛhaspati, who first increased the power of the god through various mystic rites and then deluded the sons of Raji by preaching to them the non-Vedic religion of the Jina.[1] The sons of Raji thus got out of the pale of the Vedic religion and were killed by Indra. In this story it is Bṛhaspati who preaches the religion of the Jina. That this connection of Bṛhaspati with delusion through the Jina-dharma was well known in ancient India is shown by the *Devī-bhāgavata* (IV, 13) in which Bṛhaspati appears in the guise of Śukra during the latter's absence and deludes the Asuras by preaching the 'Jaina-dharma'. In the *Harivaṃśa* also, Bṛhaspati is said to have 'deluded' the sons of Raji by writing some heretical works for them (see *Harivaṃśa* I, 28, 29f). Now, the date of *Matsya* 24, in which the above mentioned story

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1 gatvātha mohayāmāsa raji-putrān bṛhāspatiḥ ।
jina-dharmaṁ samāsthāya veda-bāhyaṁ sa vedavit ॥
Matsya P. 24, 47.

of Bṛhaspati occurs, is to be placed either in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A. D.[1] Therefore the story of the Māyāmoha in the *Viṣṇu P.* is to be dated later than the middle of the fourth century A. D. It is probable that the story did not originate earlier than 550 A. D.[2]

That the story of the Māyāmoha is spurious seems further to be shown by the fact that though the *Viṣṇu P.* knows many incarnations of Viṣṇu including the Kalki, it is remarkably silent about the Buddha incarnation. So it seems that the Buddha did not come to be regarded as in incarnation of Viṣṇu at the time of composition of the *Viṣṇu P.*

The story of the Māyāmoha is also found in a much elaborate form in the *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa), chapter 13. The story here is clearly an amalgamation of those in the *Matsya P.* (24, 43–49) and the *Devī-bhāgavata* (IV, 13) on the one hand and that in the *Viṣṇu P.* (III, 17–18) on the other. The date of the *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa) being not earlier than about 650 A. D.[3], this story does not affect the above date of *Viṣṇu P.* III, 17–18.

In *Padma P.* (Bhūmi Khaṇḍa) 36–39 also, *Viṣṇu* is said to have deluded Veṇa by preaching the 'Jaina dharma'. As this Khaṇḍa cannot be placed earlier than 900 A. D. the story in it can be ignored.

As to the Smṛti-chapters of the *Viṣṇu P.*, there is nothing to show that they were added later. Hence it should be admitted that they come from the same general date as that of the *Viṣṇu P.* itself. They have been profusely drawn upon by the commentators and Nibandha-writers like Jīmūtavāhana, Aparārka, Vijñāneśvara, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Kullūkabhaṭṭa, and others (see Appendix).

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1 See my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, 1935–36, pp. 1f.

2 Ibid., pp. 17–18.

3 My article on the date of the *Padma P.* will shortly be published in the *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the '*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*' in

1. *Kālaviveka* of Jīmūtavāhana.

	Viṣṇu P.
p. 14 =	II, 8, 64-65
p. 17 =	II, 8, 28-30
p. 20 =	III, 14, 16
pp. 389-390 =	II, 8, 72-73 Many of the quoted lines are missing in our edition of the *Viṣṇu P.*

2. Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya*.

p. 6 =	III, 6, 28-29
pp. 20-21 =	III, 8, 11ᵇ The other quoted passage is not found.
p. 50 =	III, 11, 98
p. 79 =	III, 10, 13-15ᵃ
p. 126 =	III, 11, 21
p. 151 =	III, 11, 88-95 The last three lines of the quoted passage are not found.
p. 172 =	III, 18, 97-102
p. 173 =	III, 12, 2
p. 174 =	III, 12, 38-39
p. 227 =	III, 12, 22
pp. 420-421 =	III, 14, 26 to the end
p. 425 =	III, 14, 12-13 and 15

	Viṣṇu P.
pp. 433-434 =	III, 13, 30-38 (except 34ᵇ and 35ᵃ)
p. 502 =	III, 15, 28ᵇ-34
p. 514 =	III, 15, 10
p. 515 =	III, 13, 5-6 III, 10, 5ᵃ
p. 530 =	III, 13, 29
p. 892 =	III, 11, 98
p. 986 =	VI, 7, 31
p. 1022 =	VI, 7, 40
p. 1025 =	VI, 7, 43-44
p. 1026 (twice) =	VI, 7, 45 and 89

3. *Hāralatā* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa,

p. 156 =	III, 13, 10
p. 159 =	III, 13, 16 and 11-12ᵃ

4. *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena,

fol. 21ᵃ =	III, 12, 20

5. Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary,

on Manu II, 32 =	III, 10, 9
" " II, 94, =	IV, 10, 10
" " III, 105 =	III, 11, 105
" " III, 280 =	II, 8, 57
" " IV, 151 =	III, 11, 8ᵇ

6. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa,

1. p. 28 =	VI, 2, 15
p. 52 =	III, 10, 8ᵃ

	Viṣṇu P.
p. 157	= III, 14, 12
p. 193	= III, 10, 23–24
p. 201	= III, 10, 18b–23a
p. 214	= III, 10, 16a
II. p. 242	= III, 11, 15–16
p. 255	= III, 11, 19
p. 300	= III, 12, 20
pp. 333–334	= III, 11, 24–25
p. 366 (twice)	= III, 11, 101 The other quotation is not traceable.
p. 367	= III, 11, 98
pp. 510–511	= III, 11, 26–28a
p. 525	= III, 11, 31–35
p. 528	= III, 11, 38b–39a
pp. 582–583	= III, 11, 49–54
p. 588	= III, 11, 56
p. 594	= III, 11, 105
p. 596	= III, 11, 69
p. 608	= III, 11, 84–85
pp. 611–612	= III, 11, 88–95
p. 613	= III, 11, 74b and 82b
p. 636	= III, 11, 109
IV. pp. 8–9	= III, 13, 30–38a
p. 22	= III, 14, 15
p. 28	= III, 14, 12 and 15b-c.
pp. 35–36	= III, 14, 7–9 and 16–18
p. 317 (twice)	= III, 15, 24 The other quotation is not found.
p. 348	= III, 15, 32–34
p. 433	= III, 10, 4
p. 434	= III, 10, 5a

	Viṣṇu P.
7. *Śrībhāṣya* of Rāmānuja,	
p. 12, lines 14–15	= VI, 6, 12
p. 14, lines 15–09	= VI, 7, 53; I, 2, 6; I, 4, 38
&c	&c

Many quotations, which have been traced by the editor of the Bhāṣya.

	Viṣṇu P.
8. *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya,	
fol. 1b (twice)	= III, 11, 5
„ 4a	= III, 11, 14b
„ 5a	= III, 11, 15–16
„ 15b	= III, 11, 21
„ 18b	= III, 12, 20b
„ 28b	= III, 12, 24a
„ 29b	= III, 12, 98
„ 45b	= III, 11, 26
„ 49b	= III, 11, 27a
„ 54b	= III, 11, 31–35
„ 55a	= III, 11, 39
„ 57a	= III, 11, 40
„ 64b	= III, 11, 102
„ 65b	= III, 11, 48–55a
„ 67a	= III, 11, 64
„ 71a	= III, 11, 77
„ 71b (twice)	= III, 11, 78a and 86b
„ 72b	= III, 11, 80a
9. *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi,	
p. 7	= VI, 5, 26a
p. 31	= II, 6, 35, 37 and 41
p. 32	= II, 6, 34

Viṣṇu P.

p. 285 = III, 11, 115–117

pp. 367–8 = III, 11, 115–116

p. 368 = III, 15, 10

p. 399 = III, 18, 39–42

p. 474 = III, 17, 6

10. *Madana-pārījāta* of Madanapāla.

p. 43 = III, 11, 9

p. 44 = III, 11, 12^b and 14^b

p. 45 = III, 11, 15

pp. 67–68 = IV, 7, 40
One verse is not found.

pp. 117–118 = III, 12, 22–23
The line 'jīveti etc.' is not found.

p. 121 = III, 12, 14^a

p. 212 = III, 11, 22–23

Viṣṇu P.
The verse 'dhanamūlāḥ kriyāḥ etc.' is not found.

p. 246 = III, 11, 25

p. 276 = III, 12, 20

p. 284 = III, 11, 27

p. 325 = III, 11, 56

p. 333 = III, 11, 84–85
The verse 'jaṭharaṁ etc.' is not found.

p. 343 = III, 11, 102

p. 344 = III, 11, 110
The prose portion is not found.

p. 349 = III, 11, 111^a

p. 420 = III, 11, 98

p. 478 = III, 13, 33^b–38^a

p. 515 = III, 14, 30–32

p. 538 = III, 14, 12

The Mss and editions of the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works used in writing this paper are the following :

Bhāgavata Purāṇa.—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1315 B. S.

Bṛhat-Saṃhitā.—Edited by Kern. Biblitheca India, Calcutta, 1865.

Dānasāgara of Ballālasena.—India Office Mss No. 1704–5.

Devī-bhāgavata.—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1832 S. E.

Hāralatā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa.—Edited by Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1909.

Harivaṃśa.—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1312 B. S.

Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana.—Edited by Pramathanātha Tarkabhūṣaṇa, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1905.

Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya.—Ms No. M42/39 (valuation numcer), Dacca University Mss. Library.

Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla.—Bibliotheca India, Calcutta, 1893.

Manu-smṛti with the commentary of Kullūkabhaṭṭa.—Vaṅgavāsī edition. Calcutta, 1320 B. S.

Matsya Purāṇa.—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1316 B. S.

Padma Purāṇa.—Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition, Poona, 1893.

Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi.—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1863.

Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa.—Edited by L. Śrīnivāsācārya, and published by the Govt. of Mysore, 1914–21.

Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānuja.—Edited by Vāsudeva Śāstrī Abhyaṅkara, Bombay, 1914.

Uttaragītā with the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda.—Published by the Vāṇī Vilāsa Press, Śrīraṅgam, 1926.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa.—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1331 B. S.

Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the commetary of Aparārka.—Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition, Poona, 1903 and 1904.

THE PAÑCASKANDHAKA BY VASUBANDHU AND ITS COMMENTARY BY STHIRAMATI. *

BY

V. V. GOKHALE.

A large majority of the works, attributed to Vasubandhu,[1] the celebrated author of the Abhidharmakośa, consists of commentaries on Canonical texts. The Pañcaskandhaka,[2] however, is one of the shorter original treatises written by him, with a view, as Sthiramati interprets it, "to provide the busy householders, who have neither the leisure, nor the patience to apply themselves to his ('*ācāryasya*') voluminous works, like the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra and its commentaries, with a philosophical handbook, that would develop their powers of concentration and would

* The present article was written during my tenure as a Springer Research Scholar of the University of Bombay.

1 B. Nanjō: A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka (Oxford 1883), with Japanese Alphabetical Index of Nanjo's Catalogue with Supplements and Corrections (ed. by D. Tokiwa and U. Ogiwara, Tokyo 1930), mentions altogether 36 works, ascribed to Vasubandhu (Catalogue, p. 371), from which No. 1188: Śataśāstra, which, in the Index, p. 108 is ascribed to Deva only, is to be dropped. The Hōbōgirin, Fascicule Annexe, containing Tables du Taishō Issaikyō (Tokyo 1931) omits from its own list of Vasubandhu's works (p. 147) Nanjo's No. 1252: Tarkaśāstra. (On the authorship of the Śataśāstra and the Tarkaśāstra, see G. Tucchi: Studi Mahāyānici, pp. 522 ff. (Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Vol. X, Roma 1925); Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga (JRAS. 1929, pp. 451 ff.); Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese (Baroda 1929, pp. xiv, ix–x) On the other hand two new works (Taishō Tripiṭaka (= TTP) Nos. 1361 and 1512), which are not recorded in Nanjo's Catalogue, are added in the list, given by Hōbōgirin, thus making up again a total of 36 works, ascribed to Vasubandhu. For other works, ascribed to Vasubandhu, see Buston: History of Buddhism (translated by Obermiller, Heidelberg, 1931–32) Vol. I p. 56, II p. 146 ff. and the excellent source book, containing Introduction, Index etc. to L'Abhidharmakośa, traduit et annotè par Louis de la Vallèe Poussin (Paris 1931) Pp. xxiv, 130 etc

2 The following literature is to be noted in this connection: (1) Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa (in Chinese) TTP XXXI, No. 161 (Nanjo No. 1176); (2) Sthiramati's (?) Pañaskandhapraṇavaibhāṣya (?) (in Chinese), TTP XXXI, No. 1613 (Nanjo No. 1175; Pañcaskandhavaipulyaśāstra). The question-marks after the author's name and the title of the book, which are accepted by the Hōbōgirin, are mine. For these two

(To be continued)

prepare them for answering confidently all questions on the principles of Buddhist philosophy ('*dharmalakṣaṇa*').[1] Literary traditions in India, China and Tibet are unanimous in attributing the authorship of this treatise to Vasubandhu, so that the reference made in the above passage of Sthiramati to the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra and its commentaries, which are usually ascribed either to Maitreya or Asaṅga, must be understood rather as throwing light upon the authoship of those works, than calling in question the recognised authorship of the Pañcaskandhaka, especially because Sthiramati has made it sufficiently clear in

Chinese texts I have used the Taisho edition (TTP), now available at the Bombay University Library, besides the Shanghai edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, available at the Visvabharati Library. Santiniketan. (3) Vasubandhu's Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa (in Tibetan), Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo LVIII, 5 (See Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale par Cordier, Paris 1915. A copy of the text was supplied to me from the Narthang edition by the Visvabharati Library. This was collated with the text of the same edition, available at the Adyar Library and with a photographic copy of the text from the Peking edition available at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris); (4) Sthiramati's Pañcaskandhavaibhāṣya (Tibetan), Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo LIX, 1 (I have prepared a copy of this from the Narthang edition (fol. 1a - 60b) of the Visvabharati Library and collated it with that of the Adyar Library, Madras); (5) Guṇaprabha's Pañcaskandhavivaraṇa (Tibetan) ibid Mdo LIX, 2 Narthang ed. fol. 60b - 93a) and (6) Pṛthvībandhu's Pañcaskandhabhāṣya (Narthang ed fol. 93a-221a). (For the last two works the Visvabharati and the Adyar xylographs have been consulted). Besides these Candrakīrti is known to have written a Pañcsakandhaprakaraṇa (Cordier's Catalogue III, Mdo XXXIV, 3, referred to by L. de la V. Poussin in his edition of the Madhyamakavṛtti, Appendix V, p. 627 (Bibliothece Buddhica IV, 1913). Mahāvyutpatti 7475 (ed. Sakaki) records the name of a Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa.

[1] See Sthiramati's P.-vaibhāṣya (No. 4 from the list in the above note) fol. 1b - 3a. Tucci, while emphasising the fact, that the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra cannot be attributed to Maitreya, asserts that it is the work of Asaṅga (Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga, JRAS 1929, p. 454.) It is, therefore, to be noted, that in this passage Sthiramati attributes obviously both the text and its commentaries to Vasubandhu, the author of the Pañcaskandhaka. Pṛthvībandhu in his P.-bhāṣya (No. 6 in the above note) also speaks of the Abhidharmakośa and the Yogācārabhūmi in the same breath, probably implying the common authorship of these two works (fol. 93b). Mention may be made here of the controversy regarding the authenticity of Maitreya as an author: see S. Yamaguchi: Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā de Sthiramati (Nagoya, 1934), Introduction X-XVII, where he summarises and controverts the main arguments in favour of Maitreya's being regarded as a historical figure; Obermiller's review of the Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣyaṭīkā of Sthiramati in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. IX, p. 1024 ff. (1933); Stcherbatsky's translation of the same (Bibl. Bud. XXX, 1936) p. 07, note 72.

his vaibhāṣya,[1] by quoting from the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu and even defending the latter against Saṃghabhadra's criticisms, that he was commenting upon the work of an " ācārya ", who was no other than the author of the Abhidharmakośa, although, it must be observed, he refrains from making a direct mention of Vasubandhu's name anywhere in this commentary. The most important source of information in respect of the contents of the P. is, as we shall have occasion to see presently, the Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya of Sthiramati; yet, here too, his words: *vistaravicāraastu Pañcaskandhakopanibandhādveditavyaḥ*[2] withhold from us the name of the author of the P. It may be mentioned here, that this silence on the part of Sthiramati has led Jacobi[3] to conclude, that the *Pañcaskandhakopanibandha*, mentioned in this passage, was a treatise written by Sthiramati himself. He translates the compound with the words: " (my) treatise on the five Skandhas ", obviously understanding the word: " upanibandha " to mean an independent and original composition. Even supposing, that Sthiramati was referring to one of his own works, and not to one of Vasubandhu's, I do not see, why the word *upanibandha* should not be taken here rather in the sense of an ' explanatory composition, ' or ' a close commentary of another text, ' the compound being then interpreted as: ' the exposition (written by me) of the basic text of (Vasubandhu's) Pañcaskandhaka '[4]. In fact, the P.-vaibhāṣya, con-

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1 E. g. cf. a passage on fol. 13a with Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (in Tibetan) p. 23, ll. 5-10 (Bibliotheca Buddhica XX, 1); further, discussion of Saṅghabhadra's definition of vedanā, fol. 13b.

2 Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, Viṃśatikā et Triṃśikā, publ. by S. Lévi (Paris, 1925), p. 39.

3 Triṃśikāvijñapti des Vasubandhu, mit Bhāṣya des Ācārya Sthiramati, übers. von Hermann Jacobi (Stuttgart 1932), p. 53 : the translation of the above sentence runs as: " Die ausführliche Discussion darüber möge man aus (meiner) Abhandlung über die fünf Skandhas entnehmen." The suffix "ka", signifying "a treatise relating to" in the word: *Pañcaskandhaka* would not be properly accounted for in Jacobi's interpretation; comp. titles of works like Dharmaskandhaka, Tathāgataguhyaka, Daśabhūmika etc. And then, the word: 'upanibandha' could be understood as determinative, and not appositional to the preceding word.

4 For the meaning of the word: upanibandha, cf. o Böhtling u. Roth: Sanskrit Wörterbuch IV p. 161 (St. Petersberg 1865), where 'Nibandhasaṁgraha' is mentioned as the title of a *commentary* to Suśruta's works. The prefix "upa-" in the word: upanibandha makes it all the more likely, that the word is used in the sense of 'an exposition' of some other text.

sisting as it does of an admirable philosophical exposition, arranged in four chapters, dealing systematically with Vasubandhu's text, can very aptly be described as an ' upanibandha, ' in as much as it contains not merely verbal and grammatical explanations of the text, but also several discussions and presentations of philosophical standpoints,[1] which might easily have been dispensed with in a purely textual and verbal commentary. If, therefore, it is sought to interpret the above passage in a manner, that would lead us to ascribe the Pañcaskandhaka to Sthiramati himself, by presuming, that he was there referring to one of his own independent treatises, we have, I believe, enough grounds[2] for regarding such an attempt as bound to be miscarried. The very fact, that we know a commentary, written by Sthiramati, on a work, called the Pañcaskandhaka, which the commentator implicitly acknowledges to have been written by an ' ācārya ', not himself, and in which he even detects *variae lectiones*, which he acknowledges as authoritative,[3] is sufficient to discourage such a suggestion. Finally, a later commentator, Yaśomitra, the author of the Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, removes all doubt concerning the authorship of the Pañcaskandhaka, by bringing up quotations from it in his own commentary on the Kośa and thereby announcing it, in unequivocal terms, as the work of the author of the Abhidharmakośa.[4]

We may now turn our attention to the Chinese commentary (No. 2 from the list, given in note 2 on p. 276 above), which has been ascribed, not by Bunyū Nanjō, but by the editors of the Hōbōgirin, to apparently the same Sthiramati, as is known

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1 E. g. discussions on avijñaptirūpa (fol. 11a – 13b), vedanā (13b – 15b), śraddhā (20a – 22a), satkāyadṛṣṭi (27b – 30a), vijñāna (41a – 50a).

2 Sthiramati's authorship of the P.-vaibhāṣya itself cannot be easily questioned, as we have numerous passages in that comm., which are, word for word, common to the Triṁśikāvijñaptibhāṣya, known to be Sthiramati's.

3 See note 1 on p. 282 below.

4 See Yaśomitra's Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā I, p. 67 (Bibl. Buddh. XXI.). Other references in the Index vol. to L'Abhidharmakośa. In this and the other translation of the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi of Hiuan-Tsang (Paris, 1928–'29) L. de la V. Poussin restores in Sanskrit some definitions from the Pañcaskandhaka, but not always correctly; e. g. see note 1 on p. 281 below. (Further references in my proposed edition of the Pañacaskandhaka with Sanskrit reconstruction).

to be the author of the Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya and whom we have acknowledged to be the author of the P.-vaibhāṣya, existing in its Tibetan version. Had Sylvain Lévi paid a little more attention than he did to the commentaries of the P., existing in Tib., he would not have been able to reconcile himself so easily with the view, that Sthiramati, the commentator of the Triṃśikā, was also the author of the poor commentary of the P., existing in its Chinese version.[1] Even a cursory glance at the volume of these two works, one of which runs through over sixty folios of the Tibetan Bstan-ḥgyur, while the other occupies hardly five pages of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, must give us pause before we accept the suggestion on anybody's faith, that the two commentaries, the Chinese and the Tibetan, are identical with each other. The Tibetan P.—vaibhāṣya, is, as we have seen, worthy of being called an 'upanibandha', while Lévi himself cannot think more highly of the Chinese commentary than that of an "annotated edition of the text". In fact, so far as theoretical interest in the subject matter of the original philosophical text is concerned, the Chinese commentary has very little of it to evince. It restricts itself mainly to quoting the original text and providing, here and there, a few technical explanations and synonyms. Whereas Sthiramati's P.-vaibhāṣya (in Tibetan) quotes nearly fifteen times from the Sūtras of the Buddhist Canon in support of its explanations, I have discovered only one quotation given by the Chinese commentary in the course of its dealing with the definition of 'adhimokṣa'. This passage in the Chin. comm. is of some importance from more than one points of view. For it helps us not only in revealing the existing dis-

1 See Sylvain Lévi · Matériaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra (Paris, 1932), containing among other materials a translation of the Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya of Sthiramati. Shimaji's article ; Historique du Système Vijñaptimātra, (included in the above volume), refers to the tradition, ascribing the Chinese commentary to Sthiramati (p. 19). Lévi, in the course of a note on the translation of the sentence, discussed above (See note 3 on p. 278), observes (p. 114), that the Chinese comm., under discussion, is "une sorte d'édition annotée de ce texte", prepared by Sthiramati, and with this very doubtful assumption tries to find analogies between explanations, found in Sthiramati's Trimsikāvijñaptibhāṣya and in the Chinese comm. on the P. ; e. g. p. 96 note 1 (discussion on the word asaṃlekha), p. 73 note 1 (discussion on nirodhasamāpatti). Also Ui and others regard the Ch. comm. as identical with the Tib. one of Sthiramati. Cf. A complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons, No. 4066 (p. 616), Sendai, 1934.

parity between the Chin. comm. and the Tibetan vaibhāṣya of Sthiramati, but also guides us in determining to some extent the real authorship of the Chinese commentary. I shall therefore deal with it here at some length.

Pañcaskandhaka reads: '*Adhimokṣaḥ katamaḥ ? Niścite vastuni tathaivāvadhāraṇam*'.[1] On this text the Tib. comm. of Sthiramati appears to read: [*Ityatra niścitagrahaṇam hi-adhimokṣasya viṣayo' pi sarvam-na bhavatīti jñāpanārtham ; aniścite vastuni tathaivāvadhāraṇam-na sambhavati.*] *Yuktita āptopadeśato vā yadvas'u-asamdigdham-tanniścitam. Yenaiva anityaduḥkhādyākāreṇa tad viniścitākāram tenaiva tasya vastunaḥ cetasyavasthāpanam. Evametannānyathā ityavadhāraṇam adhimokṣaḥ. Sa ca asamhāryatākarmakaḥ. Adhimuktipradhāno hi parapravādibhiḥ-svasiddhāntād apahartum-na śakyate.*"[2]

This passage, it will be seen, is almost perfectly identical with the one in the Sk. Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya of the same auther.

Now, however, the Chinese comm. ascribed to Sthiramati, gives the following explanation of the same definition.

"*Niścitam vastu-iti pañcaskandhāḥ. Yathā-* "*uktamādityabandhunā Phenapiṇḍopamam rūpam vedanā budbudopamā, marīcisadṛśā saṃjñā saṃskārāḥ kadalīnibhāḥ, māyopamañ cha vijñānam*"[3] *iti. Atha vā bhāvānām avasthānalakṣaṇeṣu yāthātathyena viniścayaḥ. Niścayo' vadhārṇamityarthaḥ. Asamhāryatvakarmakah : tatpradhānatvāt paraiḥ-apahartum na' śakyate.*"

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[1] L. de la V. Poussin quotes this definition in L'Abhidharmakośa II p. 152 note 5 (and also in the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, p. 208), but omits the word "tathaiva".

[2] Cf. Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya (Lévi's ed.) p. 25, last 6 lines. I have bracketed the first two sentences here to show, that the lengthy form in which the same argument is expressed here, differs from the pithy and polished sentence of the Triṁśikāv.-bhāṣya : "*Niścitagrahaṇamaniścitapratiṣedhārthaṁ*". Shall we say, that Sthiramati wrote his comm. on the Triṁśikā *after* he had composed his P.-vaibhāṣya, from which he transfers long passages to the former after polishing them as here ?

[3] For the word 'Ādityabandhu' the edition of TTP (Vol. XXXI p. 851, col. 3) notes the v. l. 'Vasubandhu' from the Ming edition of 1601 A. D. This reading undoubtedly indicates a later confusion between the author of the Pañcaskandhaka and the fully authorised designation of the Founder of Buddhism. The old verse, quoted here is found in the Saṁyuttanikāya, XXII 95, p. 142 (Pali Text Society, 1890), and quoted by Candrakīrti in his Madhyamakavṛtti (L. de la V. Poussin's edition, pp. 41, 549).

I do not think, it is possible to mistake this passage for the one given above from Sihiramati's own authoritative commetary not merely because of the absence, in the latter, of the well known quotation, which, as I said above, is almost unique in the whole Chinese commentary—after all, we have to admit, that there are among them certain identical interpretations as well—but because of quite another circumstance, viz. that, this passage agrees perfectly well, in all its details, with the corresponding passage in Guṇaprabha's Pañcaskandhavivaraṇa (No. 5 from the list, given in note 2 on p. 276 above), which exists in Tibetan and is likewise neglected by Lévi.

The correspondence between Guṇprabha's comm. and the Chinese comm. is in this passage so perfect and striking, that it might easily induce us to establish an identical authorship for them. Yet, we are confronted by some facts to the contrary, where this relation between them does not hold good, in fact, where the Chinese comm. appears to make commom cause rather with the comm. of Sthiramati than with the one, written by Guṇaprabha. Of these, we shall advert here only to one instance. In the course of a discussion on the Ālayavijñāna, the Tibetan version of the Pañcaskandhaka (No. 3 in the list, given in note 2 on p. 276 above) enumerates several reasons, justifying the term ālaya ('store'), one of which is described as "kāyālayatva"—"its being considered as the storehouse of the body (i. e. of Name and Form)" The Chinese version of the text, made by Hiuan Tsang, (No. I in the same list), however, reads in its stead "ātmamānālayatva"–"its being considered as the storehouse of pride, regarding the Self"–. Now, while commenting upon this passage, Sthiramati expressly acknowledges both the readings, giving separate explanations for both.[1] The Chinese comm. quotes the Chinese version of the original text faithfully and makes no mention of the other (i. e. Tibetan) reading. Guṇaprabha, however, instead of agreeing with the Chinese comm., as in the

[1] Tib. P.-vaibhāṣya of Sthiramati, fol. 48b. This circumstance has a special significance of its own, inasmuch as it indicates, that Sthiramati wrote his commentary so late after the text of the Pañcaskandhaka was published by Vasubandhu, that various readings had already cropped up in the latter in his own time and that he must have found it difficult to determine the truly authoritative reading.

above case, follows, peculiarly enough, the Tibetan text and does not betray, on his part, any knowledge of the Chinese reading.

In short, circumstances, so varying as these, lead us to the fair presumption, that the Chinese commentator certainly knew the comm. of Guṇaprabha, although Guṇaprabha, in his own turn, and probably also the author of the Chinese commentary himself, must have known Sthiramati's P.—vaibhāṣya and freely borrowed from it. We are not in a position to assert, that Guṇaprabha himeself was the author of the Chin. comm., because his commentary does not uniformly agree with the latter, as we have shown above. Especially, the introductory part of Guṇaprabha's comm.[1] is conspicuous by its absence in the Chinese commentary, which dispenses altogether with all introductory remarks and begins to deal directly with the text proper. This part shows, on the other hand, many affinities with Yaśomitra's comm. Sphuṭārthā on the Abhidharmakośa. The further question, therefore, of deteimining the mutual relations between these various commentaries must be reserved for a future occasion. In the meanwhile, we are in a position to assert with confidence that the Chinese commentary, which Lévi and others ascribe to Sthiramati, cannot be ascribed to him and that its author whosoever he may be, knew and borrowed some of his interpretations from the commentaries of both Sthiramati and Guṇaprabha.[2]

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1 It may be mentioned in passing, that during the course of his introductory remarks Guṇaprabha (fol. 61b) ascribes the famous stanza: "Yacchāsti vaḥ kleśaripūnaśeṣān etc." (See Madhyamakavṛtti (Biblio. Buddhica) p. 3) to Āryadeva. It is also found in Vasubandhu's Vyākhyāyukti acc. to Stcherbatsky : Madhyāntavibhanga (tra s.), p. 06, note 48.

2 Sthiramati and Guṇaprabha appear to have been, according to tradition, contemporary pupils of Vasubandhu (Bu-ston's History of Buddhism (trans. by Obermiller, Heidelberg 1932) Part II Pp. 147ff., 160ff.; I-Tsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion (trans. by J. Takakusu, Oxford 1896) Pp. LVIII-LIX). But cf. note 1 on the last page. Sthira. is also mentioned as Guṇamati's pupil ; Index Vol. to L'Abhidharmakośa, p. XXI. Guṇaprabha is said to have been the teacher of Harṣavardhana (Rāhula Sāṁkṛtyāyana : Tibbat me Bauddhadharma (publ. in the Hindustānī, the Quarterly of the Hindustānī Academy, Allahabad, Jan. 1934), App. XII, where reference is made to Kloṇ-rdal (born 1719 A. D.) Gsum ḥbum). Further, Th. Stcherbatsky ; Buddhist Logic (Biblio. Buddh. XXVI, Leningrad, 1932) Vol. I, p. 32.

Lastly, what is the nature of the exegetical treatise written by Vasubandhu on the subject of the Five Skandhas, which practically constitute the world of existence? While taking a review of the whole Buddhist literature, Bu-ston, the Tibetan historian, characterises the works on Metaphysics in the following terms. "The works on Metaphysics demonstrate the (5) groups of elements, the (18) component elements of an individual, the (12) bases of cognition, the difference between them, and their special characteristics,—from the standpoint of Empirical Reality."[1] This definition applies exactly to the Pañcaskandhaka, which analyses and defines, in the form of a catechism, not only the different parts of the universal structure (saṃskṛta) classified into five groups of elements (skandha), from which the work takes its title, but also of the whole existence (including the asaṃskṛta), classified into the twelve bases of cognition (āyatana), and into the eighteen characteristic elements, called 'dhātu', with their sub-divisions and cross-divisions. "Wherefore are these skandhas etc. described here?" asks Vasubandhu in the course of his Catechism, and the answer he gives is: "In order to counteract three kinds of prepossesions of the mind regarding the existence of an ego (ātmagrāha),[2] viz. i) that it is a unity (eka), ii) that it feels and experiences (bhuṅkte) and iii) that it acts independently (karoti), the first of which is removed by a knowledge of the skandhas, the second by that of the āyatanas, and the third by that of the dhātus." The compilation of the Abhidharmakośa, in which Vasubandhu tried to represent faithfully the old teachings of the Mahāvibhāṣā, could not have, for obvious reasons, offered him sufficient scope to declare his personal attitude towards various problems of Buddhist philosophy. He, therefore, appears to have represented his own position in this post-Kośa work, so far as the essential points of classified metaphysics were concerned.[3] The following tables,

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1 Bu-ston: History of Buddhism (trans. Obermiller, Heidelberg, 1931) p. 48.

2 Cf. Madhyāntavibhāgaṭī ā of Sthiramati (ed. by Lévi and Yamaguchi, Nagoya, 1934) p. 136ff.

3 Lévi has already referred to some of the deviations in the Pañcaskandhaka from the views, adopted in the Abhidharmakośa; see his Matériaux, Pp. 12; 86 (note 1); 87 (note 1); 88 (notes 1-2); 89 (note 1); 101 (note 1) etc.

enumerating the terms, defined in the Pañcaskandhaka, will give a fairly accurate idea of the nature of this catechism.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PAÑCASKANDHAKA.[1]

Skandha

I Rūpaskandha

i) Bhūta — Pṛthivīdhātu, Abdhātu, Tejodhātu, Vāyudhātu.

ii) Bhautika — Cakṣurindriya, Śrotrendriya, Ghrāṇendriya Jihvendriya, Kāyendriya, Rūpa Śabda, Gandha, Rasa, Spraṣṭavyaikadeśa, Avijñaptirūpa.

II Vedanāskandha

III Saṃjñāskandha

IV Saṃskāraskndha

i) Caitasika—1) *Sarvatrag.*—Sparśa, Manaskāra, Vedanā, Saṃjñā, cetanā, 2) *Pratiniyataviṣaya*-Chanda, Adhimokṣa. Smṛti, Samādhi, Prajñā, 3) *Kuśala*—Śraddhā, Rhī, Apatrapā, Alobhakuśalamūla, Adveṣakuśalamūla, Amohakuśalamūla, Vīrya, Praśrabdhi, Apramāda, Upekṣā, Avihiṃsā, 4) *Kleśa*-Rāga, Pratigha Māna, (including atimāna, mānātimāna, asmimāna, abhimāna, ūnamāna, mithyāmāna), Avidyā, Dṛṣṭi (including satkāyadṛṣṭi, antagrāhadṛṣṭi, mithyādṛṣṭi, dṛṣṭiparāmarśa, śīlavrataparāmarśa), Vicikitsā, 5) *Upakleśa*-Krodha, Upanāha, Mrakṣa, Prādāśa, Īrṣyā, Mātsarya, Māyā, Śāṭhya, Mada, Vihiṃsā, Ārhīkya, Anapatrāpya, Styāna, Auddhatya, Āśraddhya. Kausīdya, Pramāda, Muṣitasmṛtitā, Vikṣepa, Asamprajanya, 6) *Aniyata*-Kaukṛtya, Middha, Vitarka, Vicāra.

ii) Cittaviprayukta—Prāpti, Asaṃjñisamāpatti, Nirodhasamāpatti, Āsaṃjñika, Jīvitendriya, Nikāyasabhāga, Jāti, Jarā, Sthiti, Anityatā, Nāmakāya, Padakāya, Vyañjanakāya, Pṛthagjanatva.[2]

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[1] Cf. O. Rosenberg: Die Probleme der Buddhistischen Philosophie (Heidelberg, 1924), Pp. 127ff.; Stcherbatsky : Central Conception of Buddhism (London, 1923).

[2] To these cittaviprayukta dharmas Sthiramati, in his own commentary, adds definitions of pravṛtti pratiniyama, yoga, java, anukrama, kāla, deśa, saṁkhyā and sāmagrī (fol. 40b–41a) ; cf. Mahāvyutpatti (ed Sakaki) 2000ff. These viprayukta saṃskāra's, except the last one, are wrongly classified as caitasika dharma's in the Mahāvyutpatti. Cf. Stcherbatsky's transl. of the Madhyāntavibhanga. p. 03, note 36.

V Vijñānaskandha

Āyatana

i) Cakṣurāyatana, 2) Śrotrāyatana, 3) Ghrāṇāyatana, 4) Jihvāyatana, 5) Rūpāyatana, 6) Śabdāyatana, 7) Gandhāyatana, 8) Rasāyatana 9) Kāyāyatana, 10) Spraṣṭavyāyatana, 11) Manaāyatana, 12) Dharmāyatana (which includes Asaṃskṛta, which consists of : Ākāśa, Apratisaṃkhyānirodha, Pratisaṃkhyānirodha, Tathatā).

Dhātu

1) Cakṣurdhātu, 2) Rūpadhātu, 3) Cakṣurvijñānadhātu, 4) Śrotradhātu, 5) Śabdahātu, 6) Śrotravijñānadhātu, 7) Ghrāṇadhātu, 8) Gandhadhātu, 9) Ghrāṇavijñānadhātu, 10) Jihvādhātu 11) Rasadhātu. 12) Jihvāvijñānadhātu, 13) Kāyadhātu, 14) Spraṣṭavyadhātu, 15) Kāyavijñānadhātu, 16) Manodhātu, 17) Dharmadhātu; 18) Manovijñānadhātu.

Dhātus are further distinguished as: Rūpin and Arūpin; Sanidarśana and Anidarśana; Sapratigha and Apratigha; Sāsrava and Anāsrava; Kāmapratisaṃyukta Rūpapratisaṃyukta, Arūpapratisaṃyukta and Apratisaṃyukta; Skandhasaṃgṛhīta and Upādānaskandhasaṃgṛhīta ; [1] Kuśala, Akuśala and Avyākṛta; Adhyātma and Bāhya; Sālambana and Anālambana; Savikalpaka and Avikalpaka; Upātta and Anupātta; Sabhāge and Tatsabhāga.

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[1] These two, viz. skandhasaṃgṛhīta and upādānaskandhasaṃgṛhīta, are neither quoted nor commented upon by Sthiramati.

FRAGMENTS OF POEMS PERTAINING TO KING ŚAMBHU, SON OF SHIVAJI

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

More than two years ago Mr. K. N. Deshapande, B. A., LL. B., Pleader, Kolhapur, discovered two fragments of Manuscripts, one Sanskrit and the other Marathi, in the records of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur and he was kind enough to prepare copies of them and forward them to Mr. G. S. Sardesai, B. A., Editor, Peshwa Daftar. In the meanwhile I published in the Annals Vol. XVI, pp. 262–291 my paper on *Hari Kavi, the Court-poet of King Sambhaji and his Works.* As some of the fragments of the Mss copied by Mr. Deshapande contained new material about the reign of the same Maratha King Sambhaji and appeared to form portion of some unknown complete poems, Mr. Sardesai desired that I should publish these fragments with their critical analysis. I gratefully agreed to this suggestion and wanted to avail myself of the originals of the copies prepared by Mr. Deshapande. As, however, I failed to secure the originals, I have thought it advisable to publish the copies as they have reached me, with a view to facilitate my critical analysis of these fragments and at the same time guard against permanent loss of this important material. I wish to draw the attention of research students to these fragments to enable them to trace the whole works of which these are portions. My critical analysis of these pieces will have to wait till their publication in suitable instalments. With these remarks I present to the readers the following first instalment of the Sanskrit fragment in question.

" श्री गोविंद ॥ कवींद्र उवाच ॥ —

अथ प्रोद्दामवीरश्रीः शंभुराजो महाबली ॥
सभामगाद्विनोदेन कस्मिंश्चिदपि वासरे ॥ १ ॥
प्रकृतीनां नतीर्गृण्हन् महानंदभरालसः ॥
सिंहासने विशेषेण विरराज सुरेंद्रवत् ॥ २ ॥
ततो रहः समावीक्ष्य नानालक्षणलक्षितः ॥
उपाध्यायान् द्विजश्रेष्ठान् मांत्रिकान् तांत्रिकानपि ॥ ३ ॥

कवीश्वरान् पंडितांश्च सिद्धान् योगीश्वरानपि ॥
सामाजिकान् मंत्रिवरान् प्रधानान् प्रधनप्रथान् ॥ ४ ॥
मुनीश्वरान् जापकांश्च यायजूकान् तपस्विनः ॥
(चातुर्वर्ण्यभवान् कांश्चित् मित्राण्यपि च कानिचित् ॥)
आप्तान् सुहृद्बांधवांश्च मातुलान् शालकानपि ॥
श्वशुरान् गोत्रपुरुषान् कुलीनानपि मानवान् ॥ ५ ॥
बहुश्रुतान् सभास्तारानाहूयावीवदद्वचः ॥ ६ ॥

शंभुराज उवाच ॥

जिता भवत्सहायेन दुर्मदा रिपवो मया ॥
सहजा कृत्रिमाश्चैव स्वसहायैः समावृताः ॥ ७ ॥
कर्बूरा इव दुःसाध्याः शामलाः सफिरंगिणः ॥
इंग्रजाश्च वलंदेजा आरबा बर्बरा अपि ॥ ८ ॥
पुरुत्कालिकनिलयाः शूराः परिजिताः पुनः ॥
सामंताः फेरुपदवीमागताः शरणार्थिनः ॥ ९ ॥
तुरुष्किकाः शुष्कमुखा दिगंतारण्यमाश्रिताः ॥
वैजापुरीयाः साहाय्ये याचयंति बलं मम ॥ १० ॥
भागानगरनाथोऽपि नाथते मद्दयां सदा ॥
औरंगशाहयेकोसौ किंचिद्दर्पं वहत्यहो ॥ ११ ॥
दिङ्नारा मद्भटाटोपनिरीक्षणभयाकुलाः ॥
स्वबाहुतेजो निन्दन्तो दापयंति करान् मुहुः ॥ १२ ॥
गिरिकंदरसंचारा भिल्ला मल्ला इवोद्धताः ।
मत्प्रथां प्रभवंत्युच्चैर्वचसा मनसापि च ॥ १३ ॥
पुंड्राः प्रचंडदोर्दंडकंडतांडवखंडिताः ॥
अखंडखंडशो दासभावमाकलयंत्युत ॥ १४ ॥
सदा मदभरोदग्राः पीलंगाराः प्रहारिणः ।
सदा नितांजलिपुटा निवसंति ममांगने ॥ १५ ॥
मामकं कटकं वीक्ष्य काटकाः कठिणा अपि ॥
मामेव संप्रपद्यन्ते शरणं शरणार्थिनः ॥ १६ ॥
सार्ष्टीसमाश्रया बारदेशस्थाः केपि भूभुजः ॥
मत्प्रतापाग्निसंतप्ता निद्रां नोपलभंत्युत ॥ १७ ॥
सौनूरवासिनः केपि वरा नृपकदंबके ॥
मोगला मद्भटैर्भूयः प्रगृहीता गलग्रहैः ॥ १८ ॥

पंजाबिनस्तब्धपराक्रमतामागताश्चिरं ॥
समुद्रतीरसंस्थाना आभीराः सेवनोन्मुखाः ॥ १९ ॥
बिद्नूराश्रयसंजातप्रतापाग्निमहोज्ज्वलाः ॥
प्रयच्छंति करं शश्वद्भीता मद्भटसंगरे ॥ २० ॥
सौंधिकरा नृपश्रेष्ठा जंगमाः परमोद्धताः ॥
प्रपूजयंति मामेव हित्वा पाखंडमुत्कटं ॥ २१ ॥
अतिदुर्गमदुर्गस्था नरसिंहाः प्रहारिणः ॥
भीता बत सदातीव वसन्ति स्वगृहांतरे ॥ २२ ॥
फरासिनः समाक्रान्ता विक्रांता संगरे दलं ॥
मामकैः सकलैः शूरैः सागरांतरचारिभिः ॥ २३ ॥
त्रिनेजाश्चिररात्राय वित्रासितपरा अपि ॥
आहोपुरुषिकां कांचिन्न वहंति ममाग्रतः ॥ २४ ॥
दुनोलाः कलिताः शेषपाखंडाः खंडमुत्कटं ।
आददंति विनोदिन जल्पंतो मामका इति ॥ २५ ॥
ढोग्भाकाः प्रणयप्रह्वा बह्वालापविवर्जिताः ॥
मद्भक्तिमनुगच्छन्ति प्रयच्छंति धनं बहु ॥ २६ ॥
चंजीचंवावरपुरप्राकारान्तरवर्तिनः ॥
कटकं मामकं वीक्ष्यारटंत्यानंदसंभृताः ॥ २७ ॥
कड्दीना दीनवदनाः सदने मद्भयं सदा ॥
विशेषयंति विरताः सिंधुमार्गादनेकधा ॥ २८ ॥
विलक्षणाः कोंकणकाः प्रतिक्षणमहर्निशं ॥
सुलक्षणान्यभ्यसंति मद्भटानां समागमात् ॥ २९ ॥
नानेमावलकाः[1] केपि शूराः परविडंबकाः ॥
मदग्रेसरतां प्राप्य धावन्ति विनटान्ति च ॥ ३० ॥
तथा पोवने[2]मध्यस्थाः प्रशस्ताः संगरेष्वलं ॥
वीराः प्रवीरा दुर्गाणि रक्षयन्ति हिता मम ॥ ३१ ॥
पौडखोरै[3]कनिलयाः सलया मद्धिते सदा ॥
मद्दत्तं धनमासाद्य प्राणानुज्झंति संगरे ॥ ३२ ॥
[4]मूठखोरगृहाः केपि भटाः प्रोत्कटमानिनः ॥
आशंसयन्ति मद्धस्ताद्धनं विजयमेव च ॥ ३३ ॥

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1 Nane-Maval.
2 Pavan-Maval.
3 Paud-Valley.
4 Muthe-Maval.

[1]मूलसीकास्थिताः प्रोद्यज्ञाननामसमार्धिताः ॥
मदीयेन प्रभावेण रमन्ति स्त्रीकदंबके ॥ ३४ ॥
केचिद् [2]गुंजणसंवासाः सुभटा रणकर्कशाः ॥
मद्वासतां गताः सन्तः प्रकुर्वन्ति यशो भुवि ॥ ३५ ॥
तथा हरणमध्यस्थाः परेषां हरणोद्यताः ॥
मदाशा किंकराः सर्वे निवसान्ति सुखं गृहे ॥ ३६ ॥
तथा [3]हीरडसस्थानाः मदाश्रयमुपागताः ॥
भूदुर्गाण्यनुरक्षंति लक्षयंति हितं मम ॥ ३७ ॥
[4]पाटणखोरकृतावासाः प्रवासैककृतक्षणाः ।
मदाश्रयं संश्रयन्तो भजान्ति शिवमुत्कटं ॥ ३८ ॥
भूयः [5]परलखोरस्थाः प्रेष्यतां मग्नसंगताः ।
जैत्रयात्राः प्रकुर्वन्ति [6]प्रोत्पुसंति सभास्वलं ॥ ३९ ॥
तथा [7]तारलखोरस्थाः शूराः केचन संमताः ।
मत्पत्तिसेनां पतितां भांति प्राप्य क्षितौ किल ॥ ४० ॥
[8]मेढखोराश्रयाः प्रायः प्रकर्तुं प्रसभोद्यताः ।
मत्पत्तिसैन्यपार्श्वस्थाः प्रस्थाने प्रभवन्त्युत ॥ ४१ ॥
[9]कुडालखोरे प्रखराः खरांशुरिव रश्मिभिः ।
अभिख्यां कामपि भुवि मत्प्रेष्याः ख्यापयन्त्यहो । ४२ ॥
[10]फोंडेकराः [11]स्वालसीकास्तथा हेटकुडालकाः ।
[12]मणेरीमर्दनगडहेरकरनिवासिनः ॥ ४३
[13]शृंखलाकरसंयुक्ताश्चांदेरीग्रामवासिनः ।
मत्पत्तिसेनावामांगमंगीकुर्वन्ति संगरे ॥ ४४ ॥
अन्ये [14]वारुणखोरस्थाः [15]रोहिडेखोरजैः सह ।
[16]राजापुरसमावेशास्तथा [17]सौंदलजा अपि ॥ ४५ ॥
[18]पांसुपत्तनभूमिस्थाः वरा [19]लांजेकराः पुनः ।
[20]देवलग्रामसंभूता [21]देवरूखभवाः परे ॥ ४६ ॥
[22]संगमेश्वरभूपालाः [23]सावर्डेकरजा दृढं ।
प्रपालयन्ति दक्षांगं सेनाया मम सर्वदा ॥ ४७ ॥

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1 Mulsi Valley. 2 Gunjan Maval 3 Hirdas Maval. 4 Patan Valley.
5 Parli. 6 प्रोल्लसंति ? 7 Tarla Vally. 8 Medha.
9 Kudal. 10 Fonda. 11 Salsi. 12 Maneri.
13 साखलीकर. 14 Varna. 15 Rohida. 16 Rajapur.
17 Soundal. 18 Pamvas. 19 Lanja. 20 Devle.
21 Devrukh. 22 Sangameshwar. 23 Savarda.

चिंपोलणभवाः[1] केचिद्दाभोलीप्रभवास्तथा[2] ।
फुणगूस[3] कृतावासाः धामणैकविलासिनः[4] ॥ ४८ ॥
हातखांबेकराः[5] केचिन्मत्ताः केलैकराः[6] परे ।
सालसीपत्तनगृहाः[7] केचिद्वेलेकराः[8] सदा ॥ ४९ ॥
पुत्रपौत्रैः परियुताः शूराग्र्यपदवीं गताः ।
अवन्ति मम सेनाया दक्षवामकरा अपि ॥ ५० ॥
क्षारपत्तनिकाः[9] केचिद्राजपत्तनिकाः[10] परे ।
साटेलीपुर[11] संजातास्तथा जैतापुरीयकाः[12] ॥ ५१ ॥
प्रभावलीयाः* प्रोद्दामसंग्रामकृतविस्मयाः ॥
गर्जन्तो दक्षिणे पार्श्वे पत्तीनां प्रभवन्त्यपरं ॥ ५२ ॥
मुरेकराः† केलवली[13] जयवल्लीसमुद्भवाः ।
मल्कापुरालयाः शूरा वाडीगोकर्णभूभवाः ॥ ५३ ॥
हरिचेरीपरिस्पंदाः[14] कशेलीकाश्च[15] केचन ।
सुवर्णदुर्गप्रांतस्थाः करवीरभवैः सह ॥ ५४ ॥
मूर्धानं मम सेनाया नदंतो भैरवान् रवान् ।
आलक्षयन्ति रक्षन्तः स्वजनैरभिसंवृताः ॥ ५५ ॥
नाना नाटकनिर्माणनिपुणाः पुण्यकारिणः ।
उदरे मम सेनायाः कर्णाटा निवसंत्यलं ॥ ५६ ॥
अलंकरिष्णवोत्यर्थं वीरान् जिष्णुपराक्रमाः ।
महाराष्ट्रोद्भवा वीराः सेनामध्ये लसंत्यमी ॥ ५७ ॥
रत्नालंकृतकोटीरकुंडलोज्वलविग्रहाः ।
सेनावामांकमाप्राप्य तिष्ठन्ति बत सिंधुजाः ॥ ५८ ॥
कुलाबाचल देशस्था अचला युद्धकर्मणि ।
अश्रांतं मम सेनाया दक्षांके विभमंत्यरं ॥ ५९ ॥
महाकापट्यभरिताः कानडीयप्रथां गताः ।
वामकूर्परतां यान्ति मत्सैन्यस्य रणोत्सवाः ॥ ६० ॥
आरलग्रामनिलयास्[16]तारलैक[17] समाश्रयाः ।
सोलांकुरीयाः सांगूलभवाः शालवनीयकाः[18] ॥ ६१ ॥

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1 Chiplun. 2 Dabhol. 3 Fungus. 4 Dhamani.
5 Hatkhamba. 6 Kele. 7 Salsi. 8 Vele.
9 Kharepatan. 10 Raypatan. 11 Satavali. 12 Jaitapur.
13 Kelavali. 14 Haracheri. 15 Kasheli. 16 Arala.
17 Tarla. 18 Salvan. * Prabhanvalli.
† मुरा is a portion of the Vishalgad hills.

[1]श्येनग्रामभवाः केचिद्र राशिवडेकरमिश्रिताः ।
वामकुर्परतामस्मत्सेनायाः कल्पयंत्युत ॥ ६२ ॥
प्रेखत्कटकिनः केचित्काटकाः षण्मुखोद्यमाः ।
वामकुक्षिदक्षकुक्षिं पालयन्ति बलस्य मे ॥ ६३ ॥
प्रबलाः प्रथिताः खा[2]नवलीग्रामसमुद्भवाः ।
मत्सैन्यमध्यस्थेनाभियोतयन्ति दिशो दश ॥ ६४ ॥
कल्याणप्रांतसंजाता भीवडीजनुषः परे ।
मदीयसेनानेत्रश्रीभरं बिभ्रति सर्वदा ॥ ६५ ॥
नानाभूदुर्गरचितसंश्रयाः क्रूरमानसाः ।
मदीयसैन्यकर्णाभां दीपयन्ति मदोन्नताः ॥ ६६ ॥
सूबेदारा नायकाश्च जुम्लेकाराः सहस्रशः ।
हवालदाराः प्रख्यातास्तथा सर्णोबता अपि ॥ ६७ ॥
येकाकिनः परे केपि केपि बंधुसुहृद्वृताः ।
अटंति मम सैन्येऽस्मिन्नानादेशसमुद्भवाः ॥ ६८ ॥
डिचो[3]लीकुडवा[4]लस्थाः शिवेश्वरनिवासिनः ।
आंकोलेकर नामानस्तथा बांदेकरा अपि ॥ ६९ ॥
स्वस्वविक्रमसंदीप्ताः शक्रवत्प्रथिताः परं ।
मत्सेना प्रपदस्थाना योतंति निजतेजसा ॥ ७० ॥
वर्णदू[5]तसमालेखप्रगल्भधिषणोद्यमाः ।
लेखकाः सन्ति मे भूयाश्चित्रगुप्तोत्तमोत्तमाः ॥ ७१ ॥
पंडास्तांडवनिष्णाता गीष्पतेः समतां गताः ।
रचयन्ति श्रियं कांचित् सभासु मम पंडिताः ॥ ७२ ॥
अथर्वण इवाथर्वरहस्यज्ञानशालिनः ॥
ललन्ति ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मविदः सर्वत्र कर्मसु ॥ ७३ ॥
चतुर्वेदविदः केचित्त्रिवेदी पारगामिनः ॥
द्विवेदाध्ययनाः केचिदेकवेदरताः परे ॥ ७४ ॥
श्रोत्रियाः स्नातका मौनव्रतिनो जापका अपि ॥
तापसाः जटिलाः केचिद्वल्कलाजिनधारिणः ॥ ७५ ॥
यायजूका योगविदो दीक्षिता अग्निहोत्रिणः ॥
अयाचितव्रता ब्रह्मचारिणश्चोर्ध्वरेतसः ॥ ७६ ॥
अधोमुखा ऊर्ध्वमुखा जीर्णपर्णाशनास्तथा ॥
पंचाग्निसाधना वायुभक्षका धूम्रभक्षकाः ॥ ७७ ॥

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[1] Shengaon. [2] Khanavali. [3] Dicholi. [4] Kudal.

[5] वर्णदूत = a letter.

तोयाहाराः फलाहाराः कंदमूलाशनाः पुनः ।
नानावेषधराः केचिज्जटिला मुंडिनोपिच ॥ ७८ ॥
उलूखलमुखाः केचिद्गोमुखा गोमयाशनाः ॥
गोमूत्रप्राशनाः केचिच्छाकाहाराश्च केचन ॥ ७९ ॥
कृशा अपि दिनेशाभप्रभाभरविलासिनः ॥
मत्कल्याणपराः सर्वे तिष्ठन्ति मम सद्मनि ॥ ८० ॥
मंत्रयंत्ररहस्यज्ञास्तांत्रिका मांत्रिका अपि ॥
समुदायैः समुदयं मत्सभासु गमन्त्यमी ॥ ८१ ॥
षड्दर्शनरहस्यज्ञाः प्रशस्ताः संकथास्वपि ॥
आवेदयन्ति सततं मत्कल्याणपरं विधिम् ॥ ८२ ॥
गणिका गुणिनः केचिद् गणितग्रहमंडलाः ॥
वल्गंति दैवं बहुशः सभासु मम सुव्रताः ॥ ८३ ॥
मुनयो यतयः केचित्प्रसन्नमतयः सदा ॥
चिन्तयन्ति ममाभीष्टं निरुपद्रवसंश्रयाः ॥ ८४ ॥
सिद्धाः प्रसिद्धाः सर्वत्र सिद्धिपारमुपागताः ॥
आशंसयन्ति मत्सिद्धिं समिद्धाग्निसमप्रभाः ॥ ८५ ॥
केपि कार्मणवेत्तारः परकृत्यानिवारकाः ।
अभिचारान्परकृतान्वारयन्ति धृतोद्यमाः ॥ ८६ ॥
व्यायामशिक्षकाः केचित्संभ्रमैः संभृताः सदा ।
कलां कांचिद् रंगमध्ये दर्शयन्ति ममाग्रतः ॥ ८७ ॥
गान्धर्वविद्यासारस्य वेत्तारो दर्शका अपि ॥
गायन्ति गायना गाथां सुस्वरा वेणि(णु)लैः सह ॥ ८८ ॥
मार्दंगिकाः पाणिवादाः लयाकल्पनपंडिताः ॥
भांडैः सह महारंगे रंजयन्ति मनो मम ॥ ८९ ॥
नानावाद्यकलाभिज्ञाः सदाहंमतिवर्जिताः ॥
नटांति विनटंत्युच्चैर्नटाः केचन तोरणे ॥ ९० ॥
आभंगुरावलग्नश्रीभराः स्तनभरैरलं ॥
नृत्यन्ति वारललनाः सततं मम चत्वरे ॥ ९१ ॥
नासत्याविव सर्वासु चिकित्सासु विचक्षणाः ॥
आवहन्ति श्रियं कांचिन्मामका रोगहारिणः ॥ ९२ ॥
पुराणा ब्राह्मणाः केचित्पुराणार्थप्रकाशकाः ॥
पाराण्यप्रथिता गाथाः कथयंति ममाग्रतः ॥ ९३ ॥

अलंकारविदः केपि धिषणापतिबुद्धयः ॥
आतोषयन्ति वाग्जालैर्मामकं मानसं मुहुः ॥ ९४ ॥

तर्कशास्त्रैकपठणात्कर्कशत्वमुपागताः ॥
रंजयन्ति महोद्ग्राहैः समाजं मम तार्किकाः ॥ ९५ ॥

पूर्वोत्तरां च मीमांसां पठित्वा केपि धीवराः ॥
समर्थयन्ति सार्थेन स्वार्थान्स्वार्थपरायणाः ॥ ९६ ॥

महाभाष्यप्रवक्तारश्छेत्तारः संशयस्य च ।
प्रदर्शयन्ति धात्वर्थान्नानारूपान्ममाग्रतः ॥ ९७ ॥

नानाकाव्यकलालापकोविदः कविनायकाः ॥
आभूषयंति परमं समाजं मामकं सदा ॥ ९८ ॥

चतुःषष्टिकलातत्त्वपारगाः कुलदीपकाः ॥
क्रीडन्ति चत्वरे सर्वे दर्शयन्तः क्रमात्कलाः ॥ ९९ ॥

चतुर्दश सुविद्यासु शिक्षिता दीक्षिता अपि ॥
विवदन्ति मिथो वादैः स्वमतस्थापिनोद्धुराः ॥ १०० ॥

विचित्रचित्ररचनाश्चतुराश्चटुलोक्तयः ॥
चित्रकाराः केपि मम चित्रयन्ति गृहांतरम् ॥ १०१ ॥

कारवः कारुशास्त्रार्थविचारश्चारुकुंडलाः ॥
सुरेन्द्रभवनाकाराञ्जनयंति मम गृहान्[1] ॥ १०२ ॥

पारीक्षकाः परीक्षाभिर्बह्वीभी रत्नसंचयान् ॥
परीक्षयन्ति सततं कोशागारे मदीयके ॥ १०३ ॥

क्रयविक्रयमत्युच्चैः सततं सत्यवादिनः ॥
वणिग्जनाः प्रकुर्वन्ति मत्पुरे गतभीतयः ॥ १०४ ॥

कुरंगवाहनोदग्रवेगाः केपि तुरंगमाः ॥
ह्रेषन्ति नृत्यन्त इव चत्वरे यामिकैः सह ॥ १०५ ॥

गलन्मदाः सदोदग्रा मत्ताः केपि मतंगजाः ॥
गर्जन्ति घनगंभीरमजिरेऽरातिदारुणाः ॥ १०६ ॥

रथिभिः संयुताः केचिदंगणेऽमी महारथाः ॥
विभान्ति भानुप्रतिमास्तेजोभिर्मत्प्रियंकराः ॥ १०७ ॥

देवा अपि मया दत्तं पितृभिः सहिताश्चिरं ॥
हव्यकव्यानि गृह्णन्ति वितन्वन्ति मम प्रियम् ॥ १०८ ॥

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[1] प्रासादान्जनयन्ति मे.

इत्थं मनोरथोस्माकं शंकरेण प्रपूरितः ॥
तथाप्येका कापि चिंता मयि जागर्ति सांप्रतम् ॥ १०९ ॥
कथं सुतो मम भवेत् प्राज्यसाम्राज्यकारकः ॥
सर्वे ब्रूत सभास्ताराः प्रविचार्य स्वके हृदि ॥ ११० ॥
कानुष्ठानस्य रचना पुरश्चर्याथ का पुनः ॥
कार्या मया वा वदत प्रधानमंत्रिभिः सह ॥ १११ ॥
इत्थं शंभुनृपः प्रगल्भविभवः शक्रश्रियं भर्त्सयन् ।
शंभ्वाराधनसाधनोपि तुलजासर्वस्वभूतः पुनः ॥
पुत्रेहां हृदि संवहन्निजसभास्तारान्निगद्योच्चकैः ॥
तूर्ष्णीमास सतृष्ण एव सततं कालीसमाराधने ॥ ११२ ॥

इति कवीन्द्रप्रकाशिते इत्यनुपुराणे सूर्यवंशे अध्यायः ॥ १ ॥

The following stray stanza is found on one of the sheets of the manuscript fragments. Its exact place in the text of the poems cannot be determined at present:—

" जेता शत्रुव्रजानां निजभुजविजयी वीरवर्गस्य नेता
भर्ता धर्मस्य लक्ष्म्या अपि समरविधावग्रगामी प्रहर्ता ।
धर्ता धीरस्य हर्ताद्भुतदुरिततः पालको भूसुराणां
फत्तेसिंहो नृसिंहोऽपर इव जयतां ख्यात (एषो पृथिव्याम्) ॥ "

WHO WERE THE BHRIGUIDS?

BY

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In his highly suggestive study entitled "The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata" (=Epic Studies VI, above, vol. 18, pp. 1–76), Prof. V. S. Sukthankar, the talented organizer and director of the monumental project of preparing a Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, has thrown light from an entirely new angle on the most difficult and perplexing question in the history of the text of the Great Epic, the question how the Bhārata became the Mahābhārata, and conclusively proved the great influence exerted by this very ancient Indian clan of the Bhrigus on the development and the shaping of the epic text. This illuminating essay, which compresses within a small compass a wealth of material and which is—needless to say—prepared with that thoroughness which we associate with all work originating from this scholar, is a vitally important contribution to Mahābhārata studies, showing at the same time, in many details, how much is to be got out of the new, critically edited text.

The following observations, inspired by Sukthankar's paper, may serve to support and confirm the investigations of the learned scholar.

I have always had the impression that the original heroic poem could not have become an *Encyclopaedia Brahmanica*, a book of Brahmanic conception of the world (Weltanschauung), unless and until that particular psychological trend of India which we epitomize under the name Hinduism [1] had become so vigorous as to overwhelm and vanquish the theosophic outlook of Vedic India. This victory might perhaps have been achieved about the fourth century B. C. The Greek Megasthenes already had before him a hinduized India. Also in the textual history

[1] Unification of the elements of religion and conception of the world (Weltanschauung) belonging respectively to the Aryans and the autochthons.

of the Great Epic, the decisive step had been taken by that time: the heroic poem had been expanded by additions coloured by the Brahmanic conception of the world (Weltanschauung). But to be sure the epic had not yet attained its present dimensions.

This metamorphosis took place, as has now been shown by Sukthankar, chiefly under the influence of the Bhriguids. Now everybody will admit that the Vedic Age stood more under the influence of the Aryan [1] than of the PreAryan-Indid [2] tribes, but that the latter in course of time became more and more dominant, and that along with them came to the forefront gods characteristic of the Indian Middle Ages.[3] By the above-mentioned PreAryan-Indid tribes, I understand representatives of the most eastern branch of the racial stock stretching from the Mediterranean zone via Arabia to Western India, comprising Mediterranean, Oriental and Indid elements. Now I *ask*: Did this widely ramified Brahmin group, calling itself the Bhriguids, belong perhaps to this primeval race, the race which in some epoch of hoary antiquity had caused the earlier inhabitants of India to retreat into mountain fastnesses, the race of the real Gracil-Indid people who (according to Eickstedt) are represented even today in the purest state in Hindustan (Doab) and in the Deccan, that highly gifted race which constituted the ruling power in Mohenjo Daro, and which later produced eminent philosophers? To be sure even in Rigvedic times all Brahmins were not pure Aryans (Nordic): even at that time there must have been pure Indid and Aryan-Indid representatives of this caste. And the further the Aryans spread over India, the greater must have been the number of non-Nordic Brahmins.

What has been traditionlly handed down to us about the Bhriguids in our Mahābhārata contains undoubtedly historical reminiscences. Even when they had partly formed alliances with the older military aristocracy by matrimonial ties, at bottom they were inimically disposed towards the ruling class; and the

1 By "Aryans" I understand the Indo-germanic immigrants, who, as far as the dominant elements were concerned, belonged to the Nordic race.

2 By "Indids" I understand what are commonly but erroneously called Dravidians; see below.

3 For example, the Aryan Rudra was so amalgamated with Śiva, that the latter came to the forefront.

oft-repeated legend of Paraśu-Rāma, who exterminated all warriors (Kṣatriyas), is evidence of a real tragic conflict in a hoary past. The contradictory traditions to the effect that the later warrior-caste either was the result of marriages between Kṣatriya widows and Brahmins or else was propagated by concealed survivors of the Kṣatriya caste who had escaped destruction—these conflicting traditions can perhaps be reconciled on the supposition that both eventualities had taken place.[1] Even in the Rigveda, in the famous battle of Ten Kings, the Bhrigus are but forced vassals of the Aryan King Sudās ; like the Druhyus they are really his enemies. As Brahmins, in a pregnant sense of the word, they possess magical powers and are masters of asceticism (*tapas*) ; they remind us of the hot-blooded, irascible, passionate characters, ready with their curses, made familiar to us by the Indian epic and drama. Besides their magical powers, it is however also their heroic qualities that commanded respect and stamp their Rāma as a Superman. The high panegyric on Bhriguids must have, in post-vedic times, especially, found very sympathetic listeners.

They appear as teachers of the Aryans : their Rāma is the preceptor of three Kuru heroes. In this feature also the saga has surely preserved an old reminiscence. The invading Aryans had probably learnt a great deal from them. Think of those specimens of highly developed art that have been resurrected from the sand-buried ruins of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa ; and of the proverbial virtuosity of this race, e. g. in metal work. Thus the remarkable tradition that we are indebted to the Bhriguids for our umbrellas and sandals may find its *raison d'être.*

The divine ancestor Bhṛgu is naturally a later invention ; but the Bhrigus, the *bhṛgavaḥ* mentioned in the Rigveda, are more tangible figures. There are above all two stanzas of the Rigveda which can give us more precise information : 4, 16, 20 and

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1 The legend exaggerates here, no doubt. There can be no question of a complete annihilation of Kṣatriyas. At most it can be a crushing defeat, restricted to some particular locality. Besides, the Kṣatriyas also fought among themselves, but not in such a manner that only a small remnant could survive.

10, 39, 14. They contain the archaic [1] poetic formula: *bhṛgavo ná rátham* (the whole sentence may be translated thus: "This hymn of praise, O Aśvins, we have made for you two, fashioned as the Bhrigus make a chariot"). In 10, 39, 14, this traditional metrical formula is utilized, although apparently it does not fit very well in the metre (one could in any case read, after Avestic pattern, *a-ták∧ṣāma*, by gliding in a light mātrā between *k* and *ṣ*: *atakṣāma* would thereby acquire an ethical emphasis well suited to this significant word!) [2].

Here we meet the Bhrigus as chariot-builders, as representatives of a handicraft which was highly respected like the sister craft of the blacksmith. And I fully agree with E. Sieg when he explains (in his article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*) the word *bhṛgu* as a term for craftsman. There is no justification for substituting here straightway the word *ṛbhavo* (for *bhṛgavao*), as the Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary does. In my opinion, *bhṛgavaḥ* represented originally the craftsmen working with fire, among whom were included primarily the blacksmiths and the chariot-builders. And when we remember the silver war-chariot of the heroic Bhīṣma, we may rather call these people artificers, in fact artists. They almost passed as sorcerers and in primitive times would be undoubtedly placed on the same level as the shamans. Perhaps *bhṛgu* was originally a surname (or nickname) coined by the Aryans, "the spark-makers, the fire-sprayers, the Blinker (i. e. sparklers)". In the German word "Blinker" we have the Indo-germanic primitive root with an inserted nasal, likewise in "blecken" (die Zähne blecken that is, make sparkle). In his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Walde mentions a root *bhleg-*, which occasionally appears in the form *bhelg-*: with the second form (*bhelg-*) he connects Vedic *bhárga-ḥ*, "sparkling radiance", and our *bhṛgavaḥ*; with *bhleg-*, the Gk. φλέγω, φλέγμα ('conflagration, inflamation", etc.); further φλεγύας ("yellowish eagle"), φλόξ, Lat. *flagro*, *flamma* (=*flag-ma*). The Latin words *fulg-ur*, *fulg-eo*

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1 The shortness of *a* in *ratham*, and the agreement between the *svara* and the stress accent are indications of age.

2 The laborious and careful turning of phrases and verses is suggested by it (in *á-ták∧ṣāma*, ı signifies the ictus, ∧ a pause).

etc. may be traced back to the zero-grade form *bhlg-*. Yāska (Nirukta III, 17) is decidedly mistaken when he derives the word from *bhrajj-*, *bhṛjjáti*, "roast", because that belongs to Lat. *frīg-o.*[1]

The more technical connection of the Bhrigus with Fire appears to me to follow also from the difference between the fire-myth connected with the name Mātariśvan and the conception of the introduction of the Fire by the Bhrigus.[2] There the Indian Prometheus, who fetches Fire from *heaven*; here the custodians and the propagators of fire in *human* habitations. We notice at the same time that the Mātariśvan myth is of Indo-germanic origin, because we find it in a more developed form even among the Greeks, whereas the fire-myths connected with the Bhrigus are purely Indian.

The highly ancient, indispensable and most respected profession of fire-craftsmen distinguished itself, as we have seen, pre-eminently among the ancient Indids, and lay more and more insistent claim to equality with the hereditary Aryan Brahmins, when through the increasing coalescence of the two chief racial components India's nation-building was accomplished. After bitter struggles with the Aryan aristocracy, of which the Paraśu-Rāma legend presents, to be sure, a highly exaggerated picture, they ultimately reached their goal.[3] In the case of the Bhriguids we have, in fact, not a consanguinary sept, but a group which was originally held together by ties of common occupation. Their descendants, who, in course of time, abandoned their ancient calling and accepted the living of the genuine Brahmins, considered themselves descendants of the divine Bhṛgu, but attained a commanding and influential position only at the end of the Vedic epoch. That is evidenced by the history of the Mahābhārata-text as revealed by investigations of Sukthankar in the article in question.

The so-called Bhriguids, however, retained their individuality. A small detail, which is nevertheless quite worthy of note,

1 From **bhrisgō*, like φρύγω ("I roast") from **bhrusgo*. Cf. Heinichen, *Lateinisch-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch* s. v. frīgo.

2 Cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (1923), p. 122 f.

3 Of legal and social equality. Perhaps, on the side of the Aryans, the Atharvan and Aṅgiras, whose Veda was acknowledged at a comparatively late period, had undergone a similar development.

may show this. The versification of the Bhriguid Gṛtsamada,[1] whose hymn collection is included in the second Maṇḍala of the Rigveda, has its peculiar rhythm, as in fact also the metre of Syūmaraśmi Bhārgava (in hymns 10, 77 and 78) is quite peculiar, recalling the Gṛtsamada stanzas of the second Maṇḍala.

The Indid origin of the Bhrigus seems to me to follow from their relation to the Krishna legend. To me the Krishna religion with its sincerity and intenseness, with its religious pathos, has always appeared as the expression of the Indid soul. Even in the Bhrigu saga the birth of a child, working miracles with its resplendent majesty, plays some rôle, which reminds one of the Bālacarita of Bhāsa. And the mighty vision in the Bhagavadgītā is reminiscent of the legend of Mārkaṇḍeya, who beholds the whole world, with all its stars and creatures, in the interior of a wonderful Child. The same saintly Bhriguid is honoured with the privilege of seeing Nārāyaṇa, face to face. No wonder then that in the Bhagavadgītā Krishna says of himself that among the great sages he is Bhṛgu; Bhṛgu is thus one of his divine manifestations. In the traditional promulgation of the Bhagavadgītā, this magnificent attempt to harmonize Aryan world-view (Weltschau) with Indid inwardness, the Bhriguids, I suppose, also had done their share.

If the Bhriguids, notwithstanding the name of their chief hero, have almost no connection whatever with the Rāmāyaṇa, I explain it in the following way.[2] The extremely ancient Rāma

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1 Does the name mean, "one who has the pride of a person skilled in some art"? In any event, Gṛtsamada is a perfect master of the Vedic language. The top layers of the Indids had apparently assimilated themselves easily and quickly as regards the Aryan language and social order. But one must not forget the enormous influence which was exerted by their own language on the history and development of the Vedic and of the Sanskrit language.

2 The history of the Bhārgava Rāma, who loses his *tejas* and finds it again in a Tīrtha, reminds me of certain passages in the Avesta (Yašt 5 and 19) which allude to *xvarənah*, the lustre possessed by the warrior and ruler, corresponding to the Indian *tejas*. There we have a legend according to which this fire, which is above all characteristic of kings, rests in the sea Vourukaša when there is nobody who is fit to possess it. The usurper Franrasyan attempts to seize it by swimming towards it, but it eludes him time after time, like the reflection of the moon. Was the modern interpolator who has smuggled into the Mahābhārata the story of the *tejas* of Rāma mentioned above, influenced by a Persian anecdote?

saga contains, in my opinion, reminiscences of a hoary past, in which the Ancient Indid people were in possession of India, having overcome the autochthons and compelled them to retreat into the wilderness. The central point of the saga of the Bhriguids is however the struggle with the ancient Aryan military aristocracy, which took place in a much later epoch.

But even so the achievement of the Bhriguids for India is significant enough. To them the credit is principally due for the unification of the Aryan and the Indid spirit in the colossal monument of the Mahābhārata, for the preservation and propagation of this folk-book, I may even say, this world-book. They have made the original epic what it even now is: the great sea in which stories, moral (*dharma*), worldly wisdom (*nīti*), in short, all expressions of Indian life, have streamed in. It thus becomes always clearer that we cannot judge this monumental work with those standards which we apply, say, to a Greek epic; that it is rather the image and expression of the rich, deep Indian soul, tested in the crucible of suffering and for ever on the quest of eternal peace.

REVIEWS.

SVARASIDDHĀNTACANDRIKĀ OF ŚRĪNIVĀSAYAJVAN edited by K. A. Sivaramkrishna Sastri, Department of Sanskrit, Annamalai University, with a Foreword by Mahāmahopādhyāya Darśanakalānidhi Vidyāvācaspati Kulapati S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, M. A., I. E. S. (Retd.) Honorary Professor of Sanskrit and Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Annamalai University-Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 4, 1936. Price 5/-. pp. x, lx, 474.

It is perhaps a welcome sign of the present revival in studies bearing on Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan Linguistics to start with the *Alt-Meister* Pāṇini, the greatest linguitic genius of all time. With Liebich, Thieme and Faddegon in Europe, and the Panjab, Madras, Andhra and Annamalai Universites in India, the ever fascinating subject of grammar based on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is exerting great influence. It is in the fitness of things that the *Svara-sūtras* of Pāṇini bearing so greatly on Vedic accentuation should meet with full treatment. In the words of the learned Honorary Professor (*vide* Foreword, para 2) " the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* endeavours, with remarkable succcss, to interpret the *Svara-sūtras* of Pāṇini so as to exhibit them in the form of a methodical and complete exposition of the Indian system of accentuation in its application to the different phases of the Indic language. "

The work under review is based on a collated study of eight Mss. and has been ably edited. There is an introduction in Sanskrit by the author dealing with the conception of tones, accents, etc. in the discussion of which he makes documented reference to Western Linguists. He also deals with the author of the work who appears to have lived towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Sanskrit introduction is followed by its translation in English. The mistakes in the cited Vedic passages have been wisely kept in the text, their correct forms being given in a separate index. A systematic study of these mistakes might yield some useful result.

Besides the Adhyāya, Pāda and Sūtra number, each sūtra is

given a serial number in the order of its appearance in the work. These should be followed in every work of this type. The text is followed by an alphabetic index of Pāṇini's *sūtras* dealt with, a list of the Vedic passages cited with reference to their appearance in the text and their ultimate source, a list of authors and works cited by the author of *Svaracandrikā* and two erratta. It may not be out of place to mention here that with every edition of an unpublished work, it should be the endeavour of the editor to give a complete index of such names of works and authors as are mentioned or cited in the text.

The get up of the work, its price and intrinsic value are such that every devotee of Pāṇini should hasten to possess a copy of the work, to study, digest and appreciate the worth of the Master, and admire the genius that has guided India's Linguistic destiny for over two milleniums and is still exciting wonder in the two hemispheres.

S. M. Katre

A SANSKRIT PRIMER—By Edward Delavin Perry. Columbia University Press. Fourth Edition, 1936; pp. xii, 230. Oxford University Press, Price 16s. 6d.

The first edition of this useful primer appeared in 1885, the second and third respectively in 1886 and 1901, and within 51 years it has been printed 15 times (2nd ed. twice reprinted, and 3rd ed. 9 times), a figure which speaks volumes for the usefulness of the book. It is essentially meant for American and incidentally European students, striking as it does a mean between the Indian orthodox grammar and Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar representing at least the early American reaction towards the Hindu Grammarians. The primer will also be of use to Hindu and Indian students who take up the study of Sanskrit at an advanced age. Within the space of 230 pages all that is ordinarily required of Sanskrit Grammar (Sandhi, declension, conjugation and syntax) including a chapter on Compounds is admirably treated in the form of graduated lessons. Each lesson has its special vocabulary, Sanskrit sentences for translation into English, and English sentences for translation into Sanskrit;

in this final division of the lesson the English words are given numbers indicating the position of their Sk. equivalents in the translation, but this is wisely given up after the 19th lesson.

In the beginning Sk. words are given both in transcription and in Devanāgarī, but later on the transcription is given up. In the transcription accents are properly shown, but it is to be regretted that these are not shown in the declensional form: but it reflects to the credit and carefulness of the author when we cite the forms *bráhman* n. and *Brahmán* m. (p. 100). Similarly in the Devanāgarī citations a dot below a letter indicates a resulting Sandhi vowel.

It is however to be regretted that the phonetic portion has not been improved; with advance in phonetic studies, it would have been the easiest task for the author to bring his Sanskrit Phonetics up-to-date. Such evident mistakes as the following should be rectified in the next edition: p. 9, § 30: "Gutturals: *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *ṅ*. These are the ordinay English *k* and *g* ("hard")-sounds, with their corresponding aspirates and nasal." But there is a slight aspiration which generally follows the English *k*. p. 9, § 32: The lingual mutes: In practice European Sanskritists make no attempt to distinguish them from the dentals; § 33. Dentals; these are practically the equivalents of our so-called dentals *t*, *d*, *n*." But Hindus distinguish between the English *t*, *d*, and the French or Italian *t*, *d*, the first being linguals and the second true dentals.

P. 10, § 34. Labials: These are exactly the equivalents of the English *p*, *b*, *m*." But English *p* is always followed by a slight aspiration absent in the Sk. *p*.-cf. § 30 above.

p. 10, § 38. "The labial *v* is pronounced as English or French *v* by modern Hindus," a statement which is not borne out by fact for the generality of the people; *v* is a labio-dental non-fricative sound, differing from the English or French sound which is fricative.

Considering all the qualities of this useful Primer, we can safely recommend it to Sanskrit students in India, who have not made as yet any study of Sanskrit Grammars wriiten by Europeans, as a good introduction to the occidental approach towards Oriental studies.

S. M. Katre

JULES BLOCH: L'INDO-ARYEN DU VEDA AUX TEMPS MODERNES. Libraire d'Amerique et d' Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 5, Rue, de Tournon, Paris (VI[e]), 1934. pp. iv, 336. Pr'ce Frs. 80.

Ever since the publication of his monumental and solid work entitled "*La formation de la langue marathe*" in 1920 Prof. Bloch has been engaged in the wider field of Indo-Aryan Linguistics as well as Indian Linguistics. The immediate result of his "*La langue marathe*" was the establishment of a scientific circle of linguisticians interested in the modern Indian languages both of Aryan and non-Aryan descent. Though as Turner remarks[1] that the first and immediate reaction of this work was the undertaking by untrained and unqualified people of similar linguistic studies in other languages by insufficient study of the material, the work gave a direct impetus by its solid and brilliant construction to scientific studies in modern I-A. linguistics: in fact it inaugurated the age of scientific linguistics in I-A. within the fourteen years intervening between that work and this under notice, there has been solid achievement in Indian studies. The great work of Sir George Grierson, which was indeed a pioneer effort, came to an end in 1928; in 1926 another brilliant effort came from Bengal: Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Origin and Development of Bengali." The spring of 1931 saw the publication of Turner's unique comparative aud etymological dictionary of Nepali, dealing with the entire etymology of modern I-A. languages for the first time with some degree of scientific accuracy. In the meantime Morgenstierne, Bailey and a number of other European and Indian scholars have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the little known border languages in the North West.

As Sir George has mentioned,[2] the study of I-A. can proceed in two ways: intensive study of individual languages from a comparative point of view and a comparative study of a group of languages from a higher point view. The first is really the basic one on which the second can be built, and yet without a know-

1. BSOS, Vol. viii, Part i, 204, foot-note.

2. See his Preface to Chatterji's O. D. B.

ledge of the second in its broad development the individual problems of a single language may not find their natural explanation. The ideal then would be to develop the two sides of this study at one and the same time by a combined effort of the general and special linguisticians. Prof. Bloch has shown his competence to deal with the general development of Indo-Aryan through the three stages of Old, Middle and New I-A, through a brilliant series of works in the course of a quarter century. Unlike many Sanskritists he is first an Indo-Europeanist of rare merit: with the example of Meillet before him, he has concentrated on the different stages of I-A. culminating in the only work dealing with the history of I-A. Such histories have formerly been written for Latin or Greek; but a history of Sanskrit, Prakrit and the modern I-A. languages of Northern India had to wait for a long time. In a manner of speaking we can say that Bloch had already given us a short history of I-A. in the Introduction to his *La langue marathe*; but since then a lot of new work in the field of Mi-A., particularly Apabhraṁśa had necessitated the re-statement of some of the tendencies in NI-A. The present work is a brilliant successor of the first master-piece.

In a brief Introduction (pp. 1-22) Prof. Bloch deals with the general history of I-A. through Sanskrit, Middle and New Indo-Aryan. Pp. 23-25 give us a brief bibliographical indication of the principal works consulted. Excluding the concluding chapter the actual thesis is divided into four parts, Phonology (pp. 29-95), Morphology of the Noun (pp. 99-204) and of the Verb (pp. 206-300) and Syntax (pp. 303-319) and the Conclusion (pp. 321-331).

In each of these parts the method followed is self-sufficient for each of the three stages OI-A., MI-A., and NI-A. Thus in Phonology the Vedic sounds are studied in relation to I-E. and Indo-Iranian; then follows a study of these sounds in MI-A. (in relation to OI-A. and finally a study of NI-A. with reference to OI-A. and MI-A). The same holds good for the remaining parts.

In this masterly survey of the whole field of Indo-Aryan studies from the earliest monument to the most modern and youngest members of this group Prof. Bloch has given us the results of his deep studies with which he combines a rare insight and an unfailing grasp of the essentials. It is possible to differ

from him in the matter of a few minor details, see for example Turner's review in BSOS. or Chatterji's in the Calcutta Review, but in the broad outline he has achieved a result which will form the basis of all further studies in this field. And what is most striking in this work is the fact that Bloch himself is responsible for a large part of the original contribution on which the edifice rests.

That the work will remain the best handbook to I-A. studies will immediately be felt by any scholar who will go through a few of its interesting pages. Much of the work that remains to be done will have to be based on the problems that Bloch suggests in all parts of the book. For the science of linguistics as applied to NI-A. is still in its early stages, and the study of not only every one of the principal literary languages but also the dialects which form around them has yet to be carried out scientifically and critically.

The publishers have done their part of the work in a becoming form ; the printing and paper are good and the final appearance itself so charming as to tempt the book-lover to give it a prominent place in his library. And for a linguistic scholar it is entirely indispensable. There is only one little fault and that is the absence of an index of the words quoted in the body of the work. Though most of these words do find a place in Turner's Nepali Dictionary it is not every one who is fortunate enough to possess a copy of this great work. Moreover, in view of some other derivations, etc., such an index would have helped the Indian student and scholar. It is to be hoped that this will be rectified in a second edition.

As detailed reviews have already appeared in the various journals this is not the proper place to point out cases where different interpretations are possible. But when all is said and done the fact still remains that Bloch has given us a book which may be said at once to be the most authoritative, critical and best infomed treatise on I-A. linguistics. It deserves to be studied every day by a student of languages, and it should be on the right hand side of the work table of every I-A. scholar.

S. M. Katre.

GRASSMANN, HERMANN: Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda -Neudruck-Leipzig 1936, Otto Harrassowitz (pp. VIII+1775 Price 24 marks).

Hermann Grassmann was one of the greatest Vedic scholars of his time. In order to translate the Ṛgveda he first compiled its glossary on scientific principles, which proved to him so useful in his linguistic and comparative studies that he also published it. This happened in 1872, ever since which date the work has remained a standard guide for all the researches that have been carried on in the Vedic language. This is quite natural, for the dictionary contains all words of the language, gives their meanings and also grammatical forms together with the places where they occur, adds cognate terms by way of etymology, cites quotations to illustrate the syntax and the style, and last but not least supplies the index arranged according to final letters. Not only the Vedists but also those Iranists who investigate the Avesta and furthermore the comparative Indo-European philologists have found the work indispensable for linguistic purposes. And also for other purposes-for the Vedic subject-matter, for the names of gods and men, places and objects has the dictionary served as guide by means of its complete references.

This standard work was long out of print and extremely scarce. Unhappily also no new and complete attempt was made to supply its want, It was therefore decided at the last Congress of Germen Orientalists to get Grassmann's dictionary reissued by means of a photographic process. The resolution was soon translated into action thanks to Harrassowitz, and thus the great work has now been made accessible at a very modest price.

Nobody should think that this old dictionary of the Ṛgveda is antiquated and therefore useless; for in such a case a responsible body like the Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft would never have thought of re-issuing it. Of course, as to some details in interpretation here and there, more recent researches have to be consulted; but that does not affect the main character of the work, namely, as the guide to Vedic

words and forms and the places of their occurrence. Even as to the meanings, an authority like Hertel once said to me that Grassmann was better than Bartholomae whose Altiranisches Wörterbuch appeared much later and has been enjoying the well earned reputation of being the best work of the type. Let us therefore welcome the new edition of Grassmann's dictionary and make the best of it. Students of the Veda and also of the Avesta cannot afford to remain without it, especially for critical and comparative study, the importance and necessity of which is undeniable after all what is said and done in the matter.

J. C. Tavadia.

THE VAISHṆAVAS OF GUJARAT by Dr. N. A. Thoothi.

Publ. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd.

Originally submitted and accepted as a thesis for the Doctorate of Philosophy in the University of Oxford, in the year 1924, the work was subsequently added upon and has now appeared in print. As stated by the author in his preface, " The present study is primarily an attempt at applying and testing the Geddesian theory and method of investigation and interpretation of social phenomena. "

The work is divided into two Parts, the first part containing six Divisions and fourteen chapters, gives out the laborions work of the author, in a systematic arrangement; while the second part contains an elaborate exposition of the method; and last, but not of the least importance, is a vast Bibliography extending over 28 pagas (pp. 437-464) each page recording about 50 works bearing on the subject! No wonder then, that the thesis greatly pleased the University examiners at Oxford.

It is interesting to note how a small incident about drinking water aroused the curiousity of the school-going boy Thoothy (p. 377), and this led to a detailed inquiry into the customs of the different sections of Hindu community in Gujarat, the outcome of all that inquiry being the present large work containing information about the Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat. The author has worked on approved methods, and the present work would serve as a good model for any student working out his thesis on similar social topics.

The ideas that govern the author's thoughts can best be seen at pp. 431 ff. He is deeply grieved to see among the Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat " how the individual, in spite of possibilities of self-development, does not grow due to his fixed position in respect of Dharma, Gnyāti, and family bonds (p. 428), and as a solution of this, lays down his own ideas of social arrangement, which 'though not a plea for Individualism', yet tends to the growth of man, and ultimately fascilitates the coming of the superman.

It would not be out of place to note a few inaccuracies, which the present reviewer came aeross, while going through the work :

First, with regard to the correct names of some ancient Sanskrit works referred to : (p. 35). 'Grihasūtras' should be 'Gṛhyasūtras'. (p. 43) 'Śraotasutras' ought to be 'Śrautasūtras'.

Then at p. 96, the learned author has given Goswāmis to mean 'lords of cows!' The word 'go' in Sanskrit, means so many things, but in this particular case, it means 'indriyas' the different organs of sense, a Gosvāmī being one who has attained perfect control over all the senses. If however, the author has put in the interpretation with a tinge of satire, then there is nothing wrong.

At p. 315, we see Madhvācārya made the author of Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, bringing "about a happy combination of the teachings of Nimbārka...with Krishna-līlā of the Bhāgavat." This is really a new light and the student of the Purāṇas would be grateful to the learned Docter, if he would kindly indicate the Source of his information.

This is, of course, only by the bye, and the author deserves ample credit for having collected togethcr all the scattered information, and presented it in a suitable form, with his own remarks, on the good or bad that the people of Gujrat have reaped from the cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

S. N. Tadpatrikar.



Prof. Winternitz taking the Mahābhārata class at Santiniketan.
(By courtesy of Mr. P. Anujan Achan, Cochin.)

IN MEMORIAM

PROFESSOR MORITZ WINTERNITZ (1863–1937)

The world of Indological studies has suffered a great and irreparable loss in the passing away of Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz of the University of Prag. This Institute has cause to deplore the sudden and premature death of the late lamented scholar, perhaps more than any similar institution in India. Professor Winternitz was not merely an Honorary Member of the Institute, but also an active member of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, and of the Mahābhārata Board of Referees. His relations with the Institute were indeed never of a purely formal and nominal character; but they were appreciably strengthened in 1919, when the Institute undertook the work of preparing a *Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata*. In this connection Professor Winternitz gave the young and inexperienced organizers of the scheme much sound advice and very cordial encouragement; and subsequently, from time to time, rendered the Institute especially valuable services in connection with the Institute's monumental project of preparing this critical edition.

His services to the cause of Mahābhārata studies, in general, have been indeed of a striking and memorable character, and deserve to be recorded fully in the *Annals* of this Institute.

There is perhaps no scholar who had studied and pondered over the Mahābhārata problems longer, and at the same time written, agitated and worked for a critical edition of our Great Epic more energetically, than Professor Winternitz. He appears to have begun his scholar's career by writing a paper on a subject connected directly with the Mahābhārata. It was a critical review of Holtzmann's *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, published in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* (1884–85). In 1897, he contributed a paper of about 50 pages to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, entitled " Notes on the Mahābhārata ", which is in fact a very detailed review of Dahlmann's *Das Mahābhārata, als Epos und Rechtsbuch* (Berlin 1895). In the same year, at the session of the International Congress of Orientalists at Paris, he first drew attention of scholars to the importance of

South Indian MSS. for the restoration of a critical text of the Great Epic of India. Even at that time he pointed out that for all critical and historical researches the current printed editions of the epic were altogether insufficient and that a critical edition of the Mahābhārata was a *conditio sine qua non* of all Mahābhārata research. In the following year (1898) he contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a paper "On the South Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata", in which he published also for the first time lengthy extracts from the Southern Recension and gave some account of the Southern MSS. of the epic. In the same year he contributed an article to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* "On the Mahābhārata MSS. in the Whish collection of the Royal Asiatic Society." The same volume has two informing letters from him, both of which are about Gaṇeśa in the Mahābhārata (*JRAS* 1898, 380 ff., 631). In the next year (1899), at the Oriental Congress in Rome, he proposed the foundation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society, "with the aim of collecting all the materials as well as the necessary funds" for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata; the text of the proposal was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1901, 117 ff. As a consequence of this, "a committee was formed which was to consider the matter and report on the subject at the next congress." Next year (1900), he published a paper in *WZKM* entitled "Genesis des Mahābhārata", which is in fact an elaborate review (27 pp.) of Dahlmann's book with the same title, which had appeared in the meantime. This paper was followed next year (1901) by a paper on the "Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvölker," published in the *Mitteilungen* of the Anthropological Society of Vienna, in which he has ably discussed the flood legends of antiquity, among them our legend of Manu. In the same year he presented a memorandum ("Pro Memoria") on the necessity of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata to the Academy of Sciences in Vienna, which is published in the *Almanach der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, 1901, 206-210. In 1902, he appears to have again brought his proposal about the critical edition of the Mahābhārata before the International Congress at Hamburg. In 1903, he was serving as a member of a committee appointed by the United German Academies and learned Societies to discuss the question of the preliminary work necessary for a critical edition of the

Great Epic, which met at München and recommended the presentation of a "Pro Memoria" to the International Association of Academies. The "Pro Memoria" was presented and a definite plan was laid before the Association. In 1903 he contributed two papers on the subject of his favourite study, one in the *JRAS* on "The Mahābhārata and the Drama", the other in *WZKM* on the Sabhāparvan according to the Southern Recension. In 1904 he published an important study bearing on the snake sacrifice of the Mahābhārata in *Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt*: "Das Schlangenopfer des Mahābhārata". This was followed in the year 1906 by a paper in *WZKM* on the Bṛhad-devatā and the Mahābhārata. In 1908 the question of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata again came up before the Oriental Congress at Copenhagen, and two meetings of the Mahābhārata-Komission were attended by Winternitz as a member of the editorial committee (on 14th and 18th August 1908). In the following year (1909) he published the second part of the first volume of his monumental history of Indian Literature (German Version), the only comprehensive and authoritative book on the subject, which devotes nearly 150 pages to the Mahābhārata and still remains the *most reliable* general account of our Great Epic. Besides containing an accurate summary of the epic story, the volume contains the considered views of the author on the interesting question of the beginnings of epic poetry in India, and a detailed discussion of the question of the age and history of the Mahābhārata. It may also be noted that this is the *only* work which gives a complete, systematic and impartial account of the progress of Mahābhārata studies during the last hundred years with exhaustive bibliography and exemplary thoroughness, and as such is indispensable to every serious student of the Mahābhārata. In 1910 he published a review of Sörensen's *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* (parts I–IV) in *ZDMG* (64. 241–243). Then for about five years, from 1911–1915, Professor Winternitz appears not to have published anything about the Mahābhārata. This interval he seems to have devoted to his private studies of the Sabhāparvan, the book assigned to him in the scheme of the International Association of Academies for a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. As a bi-product of these studies may be regarded his short paper,

"Mahābhārata II. 68. 41 ff., and Bhāsa's Dūtavākya" in *Festschrift E. Kuhn* (1916), which was followed in 1917 by a review of Hopkins' *Epic Mythology*, which had appeared in 1915. The brief regime of mutual hate, disorder and vandalism prevailing in Europe during the Great War gave its quietus to this international project among others; the undertaking of the Associated Academies was silently abandoned in the years that followed the war. That was a great disappointment to Winternitz.

The end of the war marked, however, the beginning of a *new* project of preparing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata: this time in India. This Institute, making a fresh start, enthusiastically undertook the work in 1919, as a national undertaking —a venture cordially welcomed by Professor Winternitz, for he saw in it a fresh promise of the fulfilment of his dreams, which had been ruthlessly shattered by the cruel war. In 1922, when Winternitz came to India, he took the earliest opportunity to visit the Institute, and to see for himself the work of the Mahābhārata Department of this Institute, which had already made some progress. On the 26th of Noverber 1922, he delivered an address at the Institute, which contains a succinct account of what had been done and planned in Europe, and expressed the fervent hope that ways and means could be found for the *collaboration* of Indian and Western scholars in the new project (*Annals*, 1922-23, pp. 145-152). When he went to Santiniketan, he taught the students there how to collate Mahābhārata MSS. and ultimately established there a collation centre for the collation of Bengali MSS. of the Mahābhārata, which is even now doing excellent work under the supervision of the Principal of the Visvabharati. In 1924, he contributed a paper entitled "The Mahābhārata" to the *Visvabharati Quarterly*, in connection with the work he had been doing at Santiniketan. In the same year, he appears to have read a paper containing a report on the Institute's edition, before the German Conference of Orientalists at München. Later in the same year (1924) he published in the *Annals* of this Institute, a very detailed review of the late Mr. Utgikar's tentative edition of the Virāṭaparvan, containing a frank criticism of the work as well as many valuable suggestions for improvement. When the Mahābhārata Department of

the Institute was reorganized in 1925, Professor Winternitz was made a member of the Honorary Board of Referees, and also a member of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board. As such, in 1928 he read a paper at the XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Oxford, on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, drawing attention of the delegates to the important work the Institute was doing in connection with its critical edition. A discussion was opened by Geheimrat Professor Dr. H. Lüders, who moved three resolutions regarding the Institute's edition, as well as regarding the disposal of the collations made, and funds collected, for the European edition. These resolutions, which were seconded by Professor Winternitz, were unanimously adopted by the Indian Section of the Congress. The paper read by Professor Winternitz, was subsequently published in the first issue of the *Indologica Pragensia* (1929), the journal founded by Professor Winternitz. There he declared that after a careful examination of the first fascicule of the new edition, he was convinced that this edition would be *the* edition that is wanted and that he had in mind when thirty-one years ago he urged the necessity of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata His frank and evident enthusiasm for our edition did not, however, blind him to what he considered its shortcomings; and to his paper in the *Indologica Pragensia* he appended some critical remarks on the first fascicule of the new edition of Ādiparvan prepared by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. While expressing his whole-hearted agreement with the general principles underlying the reconstruction of the text, he gave a list of passages wherein he differed from the editor with respect to the readings of the constituted text, qualifying his remarks by emphasizing that he was not offering his criticism to find fault with the way in which the critical edition was being prepared; there would always remain differences of opinion in special cases, *whoever the editor be*. The Institute highly values the considered opinion of the eminent savant expressed before the Oriental Conference at Oxford in the following words: "And here I may say that in my opinion neither in India nor in Europe any one scholar would be found who would have done the work better than Dr. Sukthankar had done in his first fascicule". In 1932 he published in the *Forschungen und Fortschritte* (a record of German Science) an article entitled "Die

kritische Ausgabe des Mahābhārata", giving an account of the work of the Institute in connection with the Mahābhārata edition.

He read a considerable portion of the Ādiparvan (according to the Critical Edition) with his pupils in the Indologisches Seminar at Prag, to initiate them into the mysteries of Indian textual criticism. From the notes made by him for these lectures, he published in these *Annals* (1934) the last important paper he wrote on the Mahābhārata, which is an appreciation of the first volume of the Critical Edition of the Ādiparvan, completed in 1933. In the volume of essays presented to him by his pupils, friends and admirers (*Festschrift Moriz Winternitz*), there were two Mahābhārata articles, written no doubt with the full knowledge that they would be warmly welcomed by Professor Winternitz : the one by Dr. Hermann Weller of Tübingen University, on the Textual Criticism of the Mahābhārata ; the other by Prof. F. Otto Schrader of Kiel University on the Recensions of the Bhagavadgītā. Latterly his onerous duties as Professor of Indology in the German University of Prag as well as his failing health had prevented Professor Winternitz from devoting much time to a serious study of the Sabhāparvan, which he had undertaken to edit for the Institute : a study which was suddenly and prematurely terminated by the ruthless hand of Time. But even in 1936, when the Raja Saheb of Aundh, his colleague on the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, visited him in Prag, Professor Winternitz was very optimistic and full of buoyant hope of being able to complete the Sabhāparvan in a year or two. Alas, that was not to be !

A certain amount of pathetic interest attaches to the letter reproduced below, which was penned by the deceased scholar on the 8th January last,—probably the last letter written by him !—and forwarded after his lamentable death by his daughter-in-law, Frau Dr. Anna Winternitz. It is a tragic piece of evidence of the fact that Mahābhārata problems occupied his thoughts to the very last day of his life ! Here is the letter:

January 8th 1937.

My dear Dr. Sukthankar,

Many thanks for kindly sending me a copy of the reprint of your Epic Studies VI: The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata. I have now read it and found it of intrinsic interest. It is truly astonishing, and has not occurred to me before, that the Bhārgava material was represented in the Mahābhārata to such an extent as you show it to be. Your hypothesis that our Mahābhārata received its present form with its masses of Bhārgava material, and the admixture of Dharma and Nīti material by a Diaskeuasis of the epic under very strong and direct Bhārgava influence at some time or other (if we could only know at which time!), seems to me plausible enough Your thesis is strengthened very much by the parallel of the Manusmṛti. I should, however, underline what you say about "further additions" being made after the Bhārgava diaskeuasis: The great mass of what I have called "Ascetic Literature" (see my lecture in 'Some Problems of Indian Literature', p. 21 ff.) which is nearer to Jaina and Buddhist than to Brahmanic lore and ethics, and which lays so much stress on Ahiṃsā, and also some of the philosophical sections, must have come into the Epic through other channels. Surely the feat of Bhārgava Rāma filling five lakes with blood by exterminating the Kṣatriya race thrice seven times (repeated ten times!) cannot by any means be brought into accord with the doctrine of Ahiṃsā.

Thinking of the words, "Da wird sich manches Rätsel lösen und manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch", I hope you will continue, in your excellent "Epic Studies", to solve many a riddle of the Great Epic of India.

I am, with kind regards,
Yours sincerely
M. Winternitz.

PS I am very sorry to have to inform you that my father-in-law Prof. Winternitz passed away this night in consequence of a new attack of his heart-disease.

Yours faithfully
Dr. Anna Winternitz.

For more than fifty years, continuously, Prof. Winternitz took active interest in Mahābhārata studies and in the Mahābhārata problem, contributing himself in a great measure to the elucidation of some of them, both theoretically and practically—a record of deep and sustained interest in the Great Epic of India, difficult to be matched in India itself!

His Mahābhārata researches constituted but a small fraction of the multifarious intellectual activities of this broad-minded and versatile scholar. It remains for others, who stood nearer to him and who knew him more intimately, to speak at length on the labours of Professor Winternitz in the several fields he graced. Here we merely record our deep gratitude to him for his manifold services to the cause of Mahābhārata studies, as also our profound sorrow upon the untimely death of an honoured member of our Institute, and of our esteemed collaborator in the stupendous work, to the completion of which the Institute is pledged.

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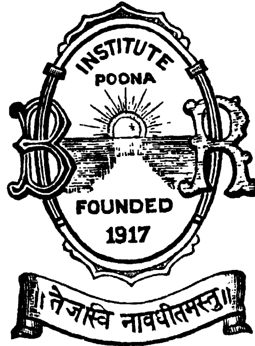
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THE VARĀHA-PURĀṆA

BY

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA, M. A., Ph. D.

University of Dacca

The extant *Varāha Purāṇa* [1] is a comparatively late work. It is rather a manual of prayers and rules mainly for the Viṣṇu-worshippers. That it is not the *Varāha P.* which the *Matsya*, the *Skanda* and the *Agni P.* noticed can be little doubted. These three Purāṇas describe the *Varāha P.* as follows:

'mahāvarāhasya punar māhātmyam adhikṛtya ca ı
viṣṇunā' bhihitaṃ kṣauṇyai tad vārāham ihocyate ıı
mānavasya prasaṅgena kalpasya (the *Skanda P.* reads 'dhanyasya') muni-sattamāḥ ı
caturviṁśat sahasrāṇi tat purāṇam ihocyate ıı'
(*Matsya P.* 53, 38-39 and *Skanda* VII, i, 2, 57-58);

and

'caturdaśa sahasrāṇi vārāhaṁ viṣṇuneritam ı
bhūmau varāha-caritam mānavasya pravṛttitaḥ ıı'
(*Agni P.* 272, 16).

According to these descriptions the older *Varāha P.* was declared by Viṣṇu and was connected with the Mānava Kalpa, but in the extant Purāṇa of the same title the Boar himself is the narrator, and there is no mention of the Mānava Kalpa.

[1] The Vaṅgavāsī edition is the same as that in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. There are, of course, slight differences in readings in the two editions.

Moreover, of the five characteristics of the Purāṇa, there is very little in it. Its account of creation bears the unmistakable stamp of comparatively late age. The Manvantaras and the genealogies of kings and sages have been neglected. The beginning also does not resemble those of the other Purāṇas, there being no mention either of the sacrifice in the Naimiṣa forest, or of the sages who request Sūta to narrate the Purāṇas. On the other hand, Sūta reports the interlocution between the Boar and the Earth abruptly and without any introduction.

The extant *Varāha P.* consists of four distinct sections: (1) chapters 1 to 112, (2) chapters 113 to 192, (3) chapters 193 to 212, and (4) chapters 213 to the end.[1] These four sections, which differ from one another in general character and in respect of interlocutors, are most probably the works of different hands hailing from different ages. In the first section (comprising chapters 1–112), Sūta is the reporter, and the interlocutors are the Boar and the Earth. This section is primarily the work of the Pāñcarātras. Here the highest god is Nārāyaṇa, and this name of the god is used much more frequently than 'Viṣṇu' and 'Hari'. The names 'Vāsudeva' and 'Kṛṣṇa' are of very rare occurrence. The sectarian Mantra is 'oṁ namo nārāyaṇāya',[2] and there is not even a single mention of the Mantra 'oṁ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya'. In this section importance is given to everything Pāñcarātra. The gifts made to the Pāñcarātra Ācāryas are said to be productive of immense good (*Varāha* 50, 16). The study of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās and the observance of the rules of the Pāñcarātras are recommended, next to the Vedas, as the means of realising the Viṣṇu-Brahma. Viṣṇu is brought in to say:

'pauruṣaṁ sūktam āsthāya ye yajanti dvijāśu māṁ ।
te māṁ prāpsyanti satataṁ saṁhitādhyayanena ca ॥
alābhe veda-śāstrāṇāṁ pañcarātroditena hi ।
mārgeṇa māṁ yajante ye te māṁ prāpsyanti mānavāḥ ॥
(*Varāha* 66, 10–11).

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[1] The late Dr. Haraprasad Shastri wrongly divides the contents of the Bibl. Ind. ed. of the *Varāha P.* into three sections: (1) from chap. 1 to 112, (2) from 113 to 192, and (3) from 193 to the end. See *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, Preface, pp. 165–166.

[2] *Varāha P.* 37, 21 and 31; 49, 31.

Though in this section Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are said to be not different from one another, it is Nārāyaṇa (also called Viṣṇu) who is the highest god, and all other gods, including Brahmā and Śiva, are said to be born of him.[1] Rudra himself acknowledges the superiority of Nārāyaṇa and describes the latter as 'sakala-vidyāvabodhita-paramātma-svarūpī vigata-kalmaṣaḥ paramāṇur acintyātmā nārāyaṇaḥ sakala-lokāloka-vyāpī.........'[2] The Boar also describes Nārāyaṇa as 'śuddha', 'sarvagata', 'nitya', 'vyomarūpa', 'sanātana' and 'bhāvābhāva-nirmukta' (*Varāha* 6, 15) and says that even the gods cannot see his supreme form (paramaṁ rūpam..... *Varāha* 4, 4). Nārāyaṇa is further identified definitely with the Puruṣa of the Vedānta (vedānta-puruṣaḥ prokto nārāyaṇātmakaḥ...... *Varāha* 17, 73) and the Parama Brahma of the Veda and other holy scriptures.[3] In spite of this identification, a distinction is made between the Nārāyaṇa- or Viṣṇu-Brahma and the inferior Viṣṇu of the trinity. The latter is born of the former and is incarnated on earth (*Varāha* 73, 47).

This section was written with a view to popularise the Pāñcarātra system which was losing popular favour in Northern India.[4] It was mainly directed against the antagonistic non-Vedic Pāśupatas (i. e. the Āgamic Śaivas) who were growing in number probably at the cost of the Pāñcarātras.[5] Here Rurda is brought in to denounce the non-Vedic Pāśupatas (also called the Raudras) as well as their scriptures. The former are blamed as 'given to mean and sinful acts', 'addicted to wine, meat and

1 Ibid. 17, 23-25; 90, 3; etc.

2 Ibid. 74, 5.

3 yad etat paramaṁ brahma vede śāstreṣu paṭhyate ।
sa vedaḥ puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ svayaṁ nārāyaṇo hariḥ ॥
Varāha 39, 16.

4 Cf. yugāni trīṇi bahavo mām upaiṣyanti mānavāḥ ।
antye yuge praviralā bhaviṣyanti mad-āśrayāḥ ॥
Varāha 70, 34b-35a.

5 Cf. asaṃkhyātās tu te raudrā bhavitāro mahī-tale ।
Varāha 71, 57.

kalau mat-kṛta-mārgeṇa bahu-rūpeṇa tāmasaiḥ ।
ijyate dveṣa-buddhyā sa paramātmā janārdanaḥ ॥
Varāha 70, 25.

It is to be noted that the scriptures of the non-Vedic Pāśupatas are condemned as 'tāmasa' and that Nārāyaṇa and Śiva are preached as one. Therefore, those who become non-Vedic Pāśupatas and decry Nārāyaṇa really worship the latter through the spirit of hostility (dveṣa-buddhyā).

women' and the like (*Varāha* 71, 58), and the latter are called 'veda-bāhya' and 'tāmasa' and are said to be meant for deluding and degrading the people (mohārthaṃ—*Varāha* 70, 41 ; patana-kāraṇam—*Varāha* 70, 42).

The way in which this section ends, shows that originally it was not continued further and that it formed a distinct work by itself. Towards its end the Boar says to the Earth, "Thus, o beautiful lady, I have narrated to you the sanctifying and all-giving Saṃhitā named after the Boar (varāhākhyā saṁhitā---*Var.* 112, 63)" ; and then gives two traditions of the rise and circulation of the Purāṇa Saṁhitā. According to one of these traditions, the Saṃhitā arose from the Omniscient in a previous Kalpa and was learnt by Brahmā who then gave it to his son Pulastya. Pulastya handed it down to Bhārgava Rāma, Bhārgava Rāma to his own disciple Ugra, and Ugra to Manu. According to the other tradition, the Boar received the Saṃhitā from the Omniscient in the 'present Kalpa' and gave it to the Earth. The Saṃhitā would then pass through the sages Kapila and others and reach Vyāsa, from whom Roma-harṣaṇa would get it and declare it to his own disciple Śaunaka. The Boar next names the eighteen Mahā-purāṇas and finishes by glorifying the study, hearing, preservation and worship of the 'Śāstra named Vārāha'.

In ths second section (extending over chapters 113 to 192) Sūta is the general reporter of what the Earth said to Sanat-kumāra and other sages after she had been raised by the Boar. In this section Sanat-kumāra, son of Brahmā, asks the Earth to tell him what strange things she experienced while she was upheld by the Boar and what the latter told her. Consequently, the Earth narrates the interlocution between herself and the Boar to Sanat-kumāra and the other sages invited by him. Thus, besides Sūta, there are two sets of interlocutors in this section : (1) Sanat-kumāra and the Earth, and (2) the Boar and the Earth.[1]

Unlike the first, this section bears a distinct Bhāgavata stamp and is meant for guiding the Bhāgavatas especially in their re-

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1 The late Dr. Haraprasad Shastri wrongly gives the sets of interlocutors in this section as : (1) Sauti and the ṛṣis, (2) Sanat-kumāra and the ṛṣis, and (3) the Boar and the Earth. Vide, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, p. 166.

ligious observances. In this section the Viṣṇu-worshippers are termed 'Bhāgavata', and this word is used much more frequently than the generic term 'Vaiṣṇava'; viz., the secret 'dharma' proclaimed by the Boar is to be disclosed only to a sincere Bhāgavata (*Varāha* 117, 47); Viṣṇu accepts those things which are preferred by the Bhāgavatas (*Varāha* 119, 10); the Bhāgavatas are to be honoured at the end of the worship of Viṣṇu (*Varāha* 124, 10); the pure Bhāgavatas are always to be visited and honoured by the people (*Varāha* 125, 168); in initiation the Bhāgavata preceptor and other Bhāgavatas are to be honoured (chap. 127–128); and so on. Though the name 'Nārāyaṇa' for the hightst god is not rarely used, the name 'Viṣṇu' is more frequent here than in the first section. The word 'Vāsudeva' also is used at times.[1] This section is named 'Bhagavacchāstra' at the end of almost all the chapters, and its contents are called 'Bhagavatprokta-dharma' (*Varāha* 113, 5) or 'Viṣṇu-prokta-dharma' (*Varāha* 122, 89). Though the sectarian Mantra 'namo nārāyaṇāya' is of more frequent occurrence, the Mantra 'oṁ namo vāsudevāya' also is found to occur (cf. *Varāha* 123, 32; 182, 9).

In the third section (chapters 193–212), Sūta is the reporter as usual, the interlocutors being the king Janamejaya and the sage Vaiśampāyana.[2] After the twelve-year sacrifice is performed, the former expiates the murder of a Brāhmaṇa and approaches the latter to hear about the results of actions (karma-vipāka) and the region of Yama. Consequently, Vaiśampāyana narrates the story of Nāciketa in which the latter speaks to his father and other sages about his visit to and experience of the realm of Yama.

This third section, named 'Dharma-saṃhitā' (*Varāha* 212, 1), constitutes a distinct unit by itself. It does not seem to be connected with the chapters of the first or the second section. The line 'aśvamedhe tathā vṛtte rājā vai janamejayaḥ' towards the beginning of this section proves its isolated character, because in the preceding sections nothing is said about king Janamejaya or his horse-sacrifice. It is probable that these

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1 Cf. *Varāha* 129, 3 and 51–52; 148, 10; etc.

2 Here also the late Dr. Shastri wrongly gives the prominent interlocutors as (1) Roma-harṣaṇa and Janamejaya, and (2) Sanat-kumāra and Brahmā. See, *A Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss.*, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, p. 166.

chapters were taken from some other source in which the story of Janamejaya was narrated. It is to be noted that though in chap. 211-212 the method of Viṣṇu-worship is given, the other chapters of this section remarkably lack the characteristics found in the first and second sections.

The contents of the fourth section (chap. 213 to the end) are reported by Sūta as an interlocution between Sanat-kumāra and Brahmā. This section is strictly Śaiva. It treats of the origin and glorification of Uttara Gokarṇa and other holy places in Nepal which are sacred to Śiva. In connection with these places Śiva also is glorified. This section was added most probably by an inhabitant of Nepal who wanted to glorify Uttara Gokarṇa in Nepal over Dakṣiṇa Gokarṇa (in Mathurā?). The former is said to contain the greater part of the body of Śiva and to be more sacred than even Prabhāsa, Prayāga, Naimiṣāraṇya, Puṣkara and Kurukṣetra. There is also mention of the Kṣatriya kings of the Solar race who took possession of the kingdom of Nepal from the Mlecchas, established the Brahmanical religion, and popularised the Liṅga-worship (*Varāha* 215, 42-46).

From what has been said above it is clear that the four sections of the *Varāha Purāṇa* have different characteristics and are, therefore, to be ascribed to different authors. In these four sections, again, there are chapters and verses which are later interpolations. Before we proceed to discuss the dates of the different sections, we shall try to find out these interpolated portions, especially those in the first two sections.

In the first section, chapters 90-97 and 99-112 (verses 1-62) seem to have been added later. Of these, chapters 90-96, on the origin, exploits and fundamental unity of the three Śaktis,— Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī and Raudrī,— are distinctly Śākta documents. Chap. 97 has been inserted by the Śaivas to show the origin of the Rudra-vrata (also called the Vābhravya or Śuddha-śaiva Vrata) and to establish the sacredness of Pāśupata-śāstra. It is clearly a protest made against chap. 70-71, in which the Rudra-varta and the Pāśupata-śāstra have been condemned by the Pāñcarātras. Chap. 99 refers to the Vaiṣṇavī Śakti who killed the demon Mahiṣa on the Mandara hills. So, this chapter cannot possibly be earlier than the chapters (90-96) on the Śaktis.

Chapters 99 (verses 54ff) to 112 (verses 1-62), on the different kinds of gifts, have been introduced incoherently. As *Varāha P.* 99, 54[b]-93 and 112, 53-59 tally respectively with *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) chap. 34, verses 333-372 and 378-384, it is probable that somebody took these portions from the *Padma P.* (Sṛṣṭi-kh.), developed them with further additions and then inserted the whole into the *Varāha P.* That this has been the case with these chapters on gifts seems to be shown by the fact that though in *Varāha* 99, 82 the priest of the hungry king Vinītāśva advises the latter to make gifts of Tila-dhenu, Jala-dhenu, Ghṛta-dhenu, Dhenu and Rasa-dhenu for getting rid of hunger, he is found to describe the methods of making many other gifts in chapters 102-112.

The remaining chapters of the first section may be taken to be contemporaneous, for, they are closely interrelated; viz., *Varāha* P. 10, 44 and 50, in which it is said that all informations about Indra and the two demons, Vidyut and Suvidyut, would be given later on, point to chapter 16; *Varāha* 11, 112 points to chap. 17 and 36 (Verses 1-8) on the attainment of kingship by the warriors born of the gem given by Viṣṇu to the sage Gauramukha; *Varāha* 17, 23-26 referring to the origin of all the gods from Nārāyaṇa, point to chap. 18-34; and so forth.

In the second section (chap. 113-192), chapters 140-151 (on the holy places and the duties of women under menses) and 152-180 (on Mathurā) seem to have been interpolated. Though Kokāmukha, a place sacred to the Boar, is already glorified in chap. 122, there is no reason why it should be repeated by the same author as late as in chap. 140. That chap. 122 was already there when chap. 140 was added is certain, because in *Varāha* 140, 4 the Boar refers to Kokāmukha as already described (tava kokāmukham nāma yan mayā pūrvabhāṣitam). There are other reasons why chapters 140-151 can be taken as spurious. Some of the Tīrtha-māhātmyas in these chapters are told in the form of predictions; the stories do not resemble those in chapters 122 (on Kokāmukha), 125-126 (Kubjāmraka) and 137-138 (on Saukara-kṣetra); the verse ' prabhātāyāṁ tu śarvaryyām udite tu divākare ' or ' vyatītāyāṃ tu śarvaryyām udite tu divākare ' which occurs often in other chapters, not excepting even the chapters

on Kokāmukha, Kubjāmraka and Saukara-kṣetra, and which, consequently, seems to be a favourite expression of the author of this section of the Purāṇa, is not found in chapters 140-151; and there is no mention of the duties of women under menses in chap. 114 in which the Earth mentions the topics on which the Boar is to speak to her. In chap. 140-151, again, there are some which appear to have been added still later. In *Varāha* 140, 4-5 the Boar names the three places Kokāmukha, Vadarī and Lohārgala, which he does not leave. Now, the Boar speaks on Kokāmukha and Vadarī in chap. 140 and 141 respectively, but Lohārgala is taken up as late as in chap. 151. Hence it is highly probable that the intervening chapters 142-150 are later than chap. 140-141 and 151.

Chap. 152-180 (on Mathurā-māhātmya) are ascribed by scholars to Sanātana, a disciple of Caitanya of Navadvīpa.[1] But this ascription is doubtful, because the verse 26 of *Varāha P.* 152 is found quoted in the *Haribhakti-vilāsa*[2] with the definite mention that the verse is taken from the Mathurā-māhātmya of the *Varāha P.* ('vārāhe ca śrī-mathurā-māhātmye.......etc.) That these chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya are later than the other chapters on holy places in the second section can be little doubted; because, the story of the Brahma-rākṣasa in chap. 155 is certainly later than that in chap. 139; the performance of Śrāddha and the offer of rice-balls to the manes in the holy places in Mathurā are highly spoken of in these chapters only; and the name 'Kṛṣṇa', which is rare in other chapters, is used more than once.

It is difficult to detect the interpolated portions, if any, in the third and fourth sections. These two sections are certainly later than the original chapters in the first two sections.

We are now in a position to discuss the dates of the different chapters of this Purāṇa. Let us begin with the first section. The famous list of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu[3] given in

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1 Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 309-310.

2 Edited by Śyāmā-caraṇa Kaviratna and published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Calcutta, p. 687. It is believed that the *Haribhakti-vilāsa* was composed by Sanātana but was attributed to Gopālabhaṭṭa, another disciple of Caitanya.

3 Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, (Paraśu-) Rāma, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalki.

chapters 4 (verse 2), 48 (verses 17-22) and 55 (verses 35-37), none of which can be proved to be spurious shows that this list including Buddha, was well known at the time when the first section was composed. If Buddha came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu about 550 A. D.,[1] then the date of this section of the *Varāha P.* cannot reasonably be placed earlier than 650 A.D. From the description of the ten Vratas named after the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, we understand that Buddha was not only accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu but was popularly worshipped by the Pāñcarātras. Moreover, the idea of the people regarding the delusive nature of Buddha was forgotten at least by a section of the people, who worshipped him for attaining physical beauty (rūpakāmo yajed buddham—*Varāha* 48, 22). Hence the date of composition of the first section should be placed lower still. A comparison between the stories of Gautama in *Kūrma P.* I, 16, 95f and *Varāha P.* 71 proves the earlier origin of the story in the former Purāṇa. This earlier date of the *Kūrma P.* is supported by another evidence. In the *Kūrma P.* the Pāśupatas introduce a story that Viṣṇu (in the form of *Kṛṣṇa*) worshipped Śiva for a son. But in the *Varāha P.* (73, 40-50), the Pāñcarātras say that Śiva first worshipped Nārāyaṇa who, at the former's prayer, granted the boon that he would worship Śiva for a favour. Thus the attempt of the Pāśupatas to raise Śiva over Viṣṇu is baffled by the Pāñcarātras. That the author of the first section of the *Varāha P.* was acquainted with the *Kūrma P.* is shown by the verses common to the chapters narrating the stories of Gautama in the two Purāṇas. Hence it is sure that the first section of the *Varāha P.* was written after the *Kūrma P.* had been recast by the Pāśuaptas. As this recast was made towards the beginning of the eighth century A. D., the date of the first section of the *Varāha P.* cannot be placed earlier than the middle of that century. Thus we get the upper limit.

Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses 7-52 of *Varāha P.* 99 in his *Haribhakti-vilāśa.* This chapter appearing to be spurious, the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha P.* should not be placed later than 1400 A. D. Again, Vidyākara Vājapeyin quotes three verses from *Varāha P.* 66 and 70 in his *Nityācāra-*

[1] See my article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII, pp. 17-18.

paddhati; Vācaspati-miśra has a good number of verses from chapter 7 in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, Śūlapāṇi has one verse from chap. 62 in his *Vrata-kāla-viveka*; Caṇḍeśvara quotes the entire chapters 40, 42 and 58 and also a large number of verses from chapters 39 and 41 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara*; Aparārka quotes a considerable number of verses from chapters 13, 66, 70, 71 and 112 in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*: and Jīmūtavāhana draws upon chap. 28–30 in his *Kālaviveka*. Hence the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha P.* cannot be placed later than 1000 A. D. As in the Rudra-gītā of the *Varāha P.* the words 'Raudra' and 'Pāśupata' have been used to mean the Āgamic Śaivas and their scriptures, these chapters should not be placed later than the beginning of the ninth century A. D., because the distinctive terms 'Śaiva' and 'Āgama' were well known in the ninth century A. D.[1]

Thus the date of the original chapters of the first section of the *Varāha P.* falls between the middle of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century i. e. about 800 A. D.

As Aparārka quotes verses 31–40 from chap. 112, the spurious chapters (*Varāha* 99, 54 to 112, 62) on gifts cannot be dated later than 1100 A. D. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses 7–52 from *Varāha* 99 and as in chap. 99 there is mention of the Vaiṣṇavī Śakti who killed Mahiṣa on the Mandara hills, chap. 90–96 (on the three Śaktis) and 99 (verses 1–52) should not be placed later than 1400 A. D. The lower limit of the date of chap. 97 is not known.

Let us now take up the second section. The use of the pronoun 'tena' for the Boar in the very opening verse 'sa tena sāntvitāyāṁ vai pṛthivyāṁ yaḥ samāgataḥ /...etc.' of this section presupposes the chapters of the first. Therefore, this section, which is the work of a different hand, is certainly later than 800 A. D. As Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes verses from chapters 119, 128, 129, 131, 139 and 152 in his *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, Govindānanda from chapters 187, 188 and 190 in his *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, *Dāna-kaumudī* and *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, Śūlapāṇi from chap. 116 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka*, Mādhavācārya from chap. 190 in his Bhāṣya on the *Parāśara-smṛti* (Vol. I, part ii), Madanapāla from chapters 188 and 190 in his

[1] See my article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XI, pp. 265f.

Madana-pārijāta, Caṇḍeśvara from chapters 116 and 139 and his *Kṛtyaratnākara,* Ānanda-tīrtha from chap. 70 in his *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya,* Devaṇabhaṭṭa from chap. 190 in his *Smṛti-candrikā* IV, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa from chap. 187 in his *Hāralatā* and *Pitṛ-dayitā,* and Aparārka from chapters 188 and 190 in his commentary (see Appendix), it is sure that the original chapters of this section were composed not later than 1000 A. D.

As chapters 140–151 are earlier than the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya, the lower limit of the date of the former is to be placed about 1500 A. D. No Nibandha-writer having been found to draw upon them, it is difficult to say anything more accurately.

As to the chapters on Mathurā-māhātmya, we have seen that they are later than the spurious chapters 140–151 but earlier than the date of composition of the *Haribhakti-vilāsa.*

The third section, which is certainly later than the original chapters of the preceding sections, was added to the *Varāha P.* earlier than 1100 A. D., because Mādhavācārya quotes a verse from chap. 202 in his Bhāṣya on the *Parāśara-Smṛti* (Vol. II, part ii), Śrīdatta Upādhyāya quotes verses from chap. 210 and 211 in his *Kṛtyācāra,* Caṇḍeśvara from chap. 211 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara,* and Ballālasena from chap. 205-207 in his *Dāna-sāgara* (see Appendix). Hence the date of this section is to be placed between 900 and 1100 A. D.

The date of the fourth section is not yet known. No Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon it. It does not seem to have been added to the *Varāha P.* earlier than 1100 A. D.

The results of our investigation are given below in a tabular form.

I. **First section (comprising chapters 1–112).**

(a) **Original**

Chap. 1–89 and 98......about 800 A. D.

(b) **Interpolated**

Chap. 90–96 and Chap. 99 (verses 1–52)......... not later then 1400 A. D.

Chap. 97.........date not known.

Chap. 99 (53f)–112 (1–62) ...... not later than 1100 A. D.

II. Second section (comprising chap. 113–192)

(a) Original

Chaps. 113–139 and 181–192......800--1000 A. D. (later than the original chapters in the first section).

(b) Interpolated

Chap. 140--151......not later than 1500 A. D.

Chap. 152–180.......later then chap. 140–151 but not later than the date of composition of the *Hari-bhakti–vilāsa*.

III. Chapters of the third section...between 900 and 1100 A. D.

IV. Chapters of the fourth section...not known: probably not earlier than 1100 A. D.

Besides the four sections, of which we have spoken above, the present *Varāha P.* contained a fifth section which has been lost. The *Nāradīya P.* (I, 103) divides the *Varāha P.* into two parts (bhāga) Pūrva and Uttara, and lays down their contents. According to the *Nāradīya*, the Uttara-bhāga, in which the interlocutors were Pulastya and the king Kuru, treated of Dharma, Tīrtha-māhātmya and Puṣkara.[1] Though the contents of the Pūrva--bhāga agree fully with those of the extant *Varāha P.*, the Uttara-bhāga is not found at all in the latter. There are, however, references in chap. 217 which show that the contents of the Uttara-bhāga followed this chapter. In 217, 1--6, Sanat–kumāra enumerates the topics already spoken on by Brahmā and requests the latter to tell him about the origin of the Tīrthas. Brahmā, consequently refers Sanat–kumāra to Pulastya who, Brahmā says, would speak on the Tīrthas before Kuru-rāja and the sages.

Though it is difficult to find the provenance of the different sections of the present *Varāha P.*, we are, however, sure that the first three sections of the present *Varāha P.* were composed in Northern India, for, almost all of the numerous holy places named in these sections belong to this part of the country. Had the authors of these sections been the inhabitants of Southern

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1 uttare pravibhāge tu pulastya–kururājayoḥ ।
saṃvāde sarva–tīrthānāṁ māhātmyaṁ vistarāt pṛthak ॥
aśeṣa–dharmāś cākhyātāḥ pauṣkaraṁ puṇya–parva ca ।
Nāradīya P. I, 103, 13–14a.

India, they would never have ignored the holy places in their own country. The fourth section, which deals with the holy places in Nepal, was most probably composed by an inhabitant of that place.

The authors of at least the first two sections of the *Varāha P.* appear to have consulted other works before composing these sections. In *Varāha P.* 2, 2b the contents of this Purāṇa are said to have been derived from 'all Śāstras' and in 143, 20 this Purāṇa is said to be the essence of all Śāstras.[1] The literal agreement between *Varāha P.* 13 (33 to the end) and 14 (1–50, except 1 and 8a) and *Viṣṇu P.* III, 14 (4 to the end) and 15 (1 to the end, except 1a, 8b–10, 22--23a and 38) shows that the author of the first section borrowed these common portions from the *Viṣṇu P.* The story of Kṛṣṇa's curse on Śāmba and the latter's worship of the Sun (*Varāha P.* 177) is based on *Bhaviṣya P.* I, 73f. The latter Purāṇa is mentioned twice in *Varāha* 177.

It should be noted that the opening verse

'triḥ- sapta--ṣaṭ--kṣiti--mite nṛpa-vikramasya
kāle gate bhagavato hari–bodhanasya ।
vīreśvareṇa saha mādhava--bhaṭṭa--nāmnā
kāśyāṁ varāha--kathitaṁ likhitaṁ purāṇaṁ ॥'

of chap. 218 in the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Varāha P.* cannot be made the basis for any chronological deduction regarding the Purāṇa. It is merely a post--colophon statement of the scribe.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the '*Varāha Purāṇa*' or '*Vārāha*' in

Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana,	*Varāha P.*		*Varāha P.*
p. 424	= 28, 40–41, The verse 'mahānavamyāṁ etc.' is not found.	p. 425	= 29, 14^b–15, The verse 'kārttikasya etc.' is not found.
		pp. 450-1	= 30, 6. The other lines are not found.

1 'kathayāmi purāṇasya viṣayaṁ sarva-śāstrataḥ ।'
'yathā ca mathyamānād vai dadhnaś coddhrīyate ghṛtaṁ ।
evaṃ sarveṣu śāstreṣu vārāhaṁ ghṛta-saṁmitaṁ ॥'

2. Aparārka's commentary on *Yāj.*, — *Varāha P.*

p. 12 = 70, 41–42; 71, 52–54; and 70, 35^{b}–36. The verse 'kuhakāś cendrajālāni' is not found.

p. 13 = 66, 11–12^{a},

pp. 301–302 = 112, 31–40, The line 'irāvatī etc.' is not found.

p. 426 = 13, 33–35.

pp. 456 = 190, 103^{b}–104^{a}. The line 'vastra–śaucādi etc.' is not found.

p. 498 = 190, 125.

pp. 525–526 = 188, 12–32 (except 14^{b}–15, 18^{b}–24 and 27–30^{a}). The lines 'śvaḥ kariṣye' and 'pūjayiṣyāmi' are not found.

3. *Hāralatā* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa,

pp. 128–130 = 187, 88–109^{a} (except 89^{b}, 91^{b}–92^{a}, 93^{b}, 98^{a} and 104).

4. *Pitṛ–dayitā* of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa,

p. 75 = 187, 101–103.

p. 77 = 187, 106–107.

5. *Dāna–sāgara* of Ballālasena, — *Varāha P.*

fol. 117^{a} = 205, 24–25.

„ 124^{a} = 207, 26.

„ 129^{a} (twice) = 207, 50^{a} and 50^{b}.

„ 136^{b} (twice) = 207, 26 : 205, 30.

„ 157^{b}–158^{a} = 206, 18^{b}–22.

„ 158^{a-b} = 206, [illegible]d^{a}–22.

„ 159^{a} = 206, [illegible]-22.

„ 161^{b} = 207 [illegible]ably.

„ 166^{b} = 20[illegible]

„ 168^{a} = 207, 45^{b}.

„ 173^{a} = 207, 26.

„ 190^{a} — cf. 207, 51.

„ 221^{a} = 206, 14^{b}–15^{a}.

„ 223^{b} = 206, 14^{b}–15^{a}.

„ 232^{b} = 206, 13–14^{b}.

6. *Smṛti–candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa,

IV, 189 = 190, 103^{b}–104^{a}. The line 'vastra–śaucādi etc.' is not found.

7. *Kṛtyācāra* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya,

fol. 15^{a} = 210, 64^{a} and 65^{a}.

„ 16^{a} = 211, 14^{a} and 15^{a-b}. The line 'tatkṣaṇādeva' is not found.

8. *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla, — *Varāha P.*

p. 561 = 190, 103^b–104^a. The line 'vastra-śaucādi' is not found.

p. 611 = 188, 12. The lines 'svaḥ kariṣye etc.' and 'pujayiṣyāmi etc.' are not found.

9. Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*,

Vol. I, part ii,

p. 360 = 190, 103^b–104^a. The line, 'vastra-śaucādi' is not found.

Vol II, part ii,

p. 268 (twice) = 202, 71. The verses 'tṛṇa-gulma etc.' are not found.

10. *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara,

fol. 167^a–169^a = 39, 26–77,

„ 175^a–175^b = 40, 2^b to the end.

„ 185^b–186^a = 41, 1–15. Five lines 'agamyā-gamanaṁ etc.' are not found.

„ 190^{a-b} = 58, 1 to the end (except verses 3^b–7 and 14).

Varāha P.

fol. 192^{a-b} = Chap. 42 (except verses 8–13).

„ 199^b (twice) = 139, 47 (= 155, 34). 116, 4f.

„ ? = 211, 16–18

11. *Vratakāla-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi,

fol. 4^a = 62, 3.

12. *Prāyaścittaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi,

p. 367 = 116, 4

13. *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra,

pp. 270–272 = 7, 13–26 and 27^{b-c}. The line 'samāgatas tīrthavaraṁ' is not fonnd

14. *Dāna-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,

p. 36 = 187, 90^b–91^a and 92^b.

p. 99 = 188, 13, 10^b, 12 and 14^a. Two lines 'svaḥ kariṣye' and 'pūjayiṣyāmi are not found.

15. *Śuddhi-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,

p. 107 = 187, 90–91^a and 92^b.

	Varāha P.
p. 109 (twice)	= 187, 94^b–95. 187, 97^{b}–c.
p. 110	= 187, 99–103 (except 99^b).
p. 171	= 188, 13, 10^b, 12 and 14^a. The lines 'śvaḥ kariṣye' and 'pūjayiṣyāmi' are not found.
p. 177	— cf. 188, 36^b, 41^a and 44

16. *Śrāddha-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,

p. 75	= 188, 50^b–c.
p. 76	= 190, 103^b–104^a. The line 'vastra-śaucādī' is not found.
p. 79	= 190, 104^a.
p. 81	= 188, 13^a.
p. 83	= 190, 103^b.
p. 377	= 188, 50^b.
p. 380–381	= 188, 13, 12 and 16. The lines 'śvaḥ kariṣye etc.' 'pūjayiṣyāmi etc.' and 'pāda-mrakṣaṇaṁ etc.' are not found
p. 395	= 188, 64–66, The line 'namo 'stu te' is not found.

17. *Nityācāra paddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyin,

p. 63	= 190, 104^a.

	Varāha P.
p. 481	— cf. chap. 130–136
p. 506	= 132, 11^b–12.
p. 507	= 66, 11^a–^{b}.
p. 509	= 66, 18.
p. 590	= 70, 40.

18. *Haribhakti-vilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa,

pp. 82–90	= 99, 7–52. A few lines are not found.
p. 130	= 131, 1.
p. 153	= 139, 17^a and 19^a. Many lines are not found.
p. 154	= 139, 2, 8^b–9, 11 and 13–14. A few verses are not found.
p. 206	= 129, 17. The other two verses are not found.
pp. 394–5	= 119, 5–10. Many verses are not found.
p. 396	= 119, 13^a.
p. 411	= 139, 96–97^a and 99c. The other lines are not found.
p. 414	= 139, 99. The other lines are not found.
p. 687	= 152, 26.
pp. 1087–8	= 128, 45^b and 48, cf. 128, 69–70.

The Mss and editions of the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works used in writing this paper are the following :—

Agni Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Aparārka's commentary on *Yājñavalkya*-Ānandāśrama edition, Poona.

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa—Pub. by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Dāna-kaumudi of Govindānanda—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Dāna-sāgara of Ballālasena—Mss No. 1704-5, India Office Library, London.

Hāralatā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Haribhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa—Edited by Śyāmā-caraṇa Kaviratna and published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Calcutta.

Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya—Ms No, M42/39 (Number in the rough valuation list). Dacca University Mss Library.

Kṛtya-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara—Ms. No. 1055C. Dacca University Mss Library.

Kūrma-Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Madana-pārijāta of Madanapāla—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Mādhavācārya's commentary on *Parāśara-smṛti*—Edited bv V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay.

Matsya Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī Edition, Calcutta.

Nāradīya Purāṇa—Pub. by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Nityācāra-paddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin—Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Padma Purāṇa (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa)—Ānandāśrama edition, Poona.

Pitṛ-dayitā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa—Pub. by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta.

Prāyaścitta-viveka of Śūlapāṇi—Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

Skanda Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa—Pub. by the Govt. of Mysore.

Śrāddha-kaumudī of Govindānanda—Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Śuddhi-kaumudī of Govindānanda—Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra—Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Varāha Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa—Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Vratakāla-viveka of Śūlapāṇi—Ms No. 1578C, Dacca University Mss Library.

THE NĀGAS

BY

DR. A. BANERJI-SASTRI

In the early history of India the Nāgas appear as a baffling problem. An attempt has been made recently in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIX, by Mr. Jayaswal to reconstruct their history from literature and archaeology. This reconstruction has been commented on adversely by Sir R. Burn in pp. 10–11 of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for the year 1933, vol. VIII, published in 1935. In order to appreciate the contentions of either, it is necessary to review the available information prior to the controversy.

The sources may be roughly divided in four literary groups:–

I. Vedic– circa 2000-800 B. C. (Iconic and baetylic ; *Śat. Br.*, xi, 2, 7, 12 ; Mythic Nāgas, *Aś. Gr.* Sūtra, iii, 4, 1.

II. Epic (Mbh. and Rām.), Buddhist and Jain chronicles- circa 600–200 B. C. (Kings and serpent folk, Mbh ; eminent men, *Dhammapada, Suttan., Jaina Sutr.*)

III. Purāṇa (circa 200 B. C. 325 A. D.) and contemporary records: The Periplus–c. 80 A. D. ; Ptolemy–2nd cent. A. D. *Mahāmāyūrī* (in the *Pañca-rakṣā*) c. 3rd cent. A. D.

IV. Post–Purāṇa : Fa-Hien 399–414 A. D. Yuan Chwang– 629–645 A. D. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* c. 900 A. D.

The above four literary groups correspond to the following archaeological evidence :—

I and II. Excavations in the Indus, Ganges, Jumna and Nerbudda valleys and results in the form of terra cottas, plaques and sculptures.

III. Coins and inscriptions found practically all over northern India.

IV. Coins and inscriptions in northern as well as southern India. Sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amravati may be referred to when they actually contain name-legends leaving aside controversial interpretation of form and feeling.

In equating the two sources, it should be borne in mind that geography is the eye of history. Mere similarity in names without reference to locality and time is of little value for identification. Similarity in script is a safeguard but cannot ensure absolute accuracy. The possible margin on both coins and inscriptions makes a perceptible difference in assigning precise dates to particular persons who may otherwise be placed in the same general chronology based on the typical characteristics, e. g., on their coins. To quote an instance, Thus Nāgasena occurs as a contemporary of king Milinda, and also of Samudragupta (Allahabad Pillar Inscr. line 13);[1] *Harṣacarita* mentions another Nāgasena, possibly at Padmāvatī. They are clearly different persons hailing from different localities. Fleet[2] *G. I.* on p. 328, suggested-- " other chiefs of this race are probably to be found in Gaṇapatināga, Nāgadatta, and Nāgasena, who were conquered by Samudragupta. "[3] From a strictly scientific point of view, there is not a shred of evidence that this Nāgasena was a Nāga at all. No inscription, no coin, no piece of literature attests him as such. Cunningham does not know him (*C. A. I.*, pl. VI ; C. M. I. pl. II); Vincent Smith[4] omits him (*C. I. M.*, pp. 162, 164, 178); Rapson[5] ignores him completely, mentioning only the Buddhist teacher. None of the Purāṇas mentions him (cf.–Vs iv, 24, 17 ; Bh xii, 1, 32, 33 ; Vs iv, 24, 18 ; Bh xii, 1, 37–40). The only remaining source, therefore, is *Mañjuśrī* (circa, 900 A. D.) in verses 610–12 :

Uttarāṃ diśi sarvatra nānārambhanitambayoḥ ॥ 610 ॥
Anantā nṛpatayaḥ proktā nānājātisamāśritāḥ ।
Śakavaṃśa tadā triṁśat manujeśā nibodhata ॥ 611 ॥
Daśāṣṭa bhūpatayaḥ khyātā sārdhabhūtikamadhyamā ।
Ante Nāgasenā tu viluptā te pare tadā ॥ 612 ॥

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1 With the Guptas are mentioned Gaṇapati-nāga, Maṇidhyānas and others as reigning contemporaneously— Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age.* p. xii.

2 Lévi, *J. A.*, Janvier–Février 1915 p. 8.

3 Fleet *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* vol. III, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 1888.

4 Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, Ancient India, pp. 549, 550,

5 Cf. also Plate XXIII of V. Smith's *C. C. I. M.*, pp. 206–207.

Mr. Jayaswal[1] interprets as follows :—

" Now the Buddhist historian leaves the West and takes up the Middle Country. These kings he calls *Madhyas* i. e., the kings of the Madhya country. He begins with North Mid-Land :

" In the Northern Quarter on the mountains (T. ; S.-*rambhā* ?) and tableland everywhere, many kings of different births (castes or nationalities-*jāti*) have been declared.

The Śaka dynasty (*Śaka-vaṃśa*) known to be of 30 rulers (T. with a wrong reading for 'Śakavaṃśa', 21+30). 18 kings are known to be Emperors (*Sārvabhūmika*, T. ; S. wrongly, '*sārvabhūtika*') of Madhyadeśa (Madhyamā) (610-12)

The Dynasty of Nāgasenas (115 A. D.—384 A. D.)

At the close there (will be) the Nāga-senas, and then they ceased (*viluptā*) (612). *Comments* on the above.

The important thing to note is that the Śaka dynasty is placed in North Madhyadeśa, and that they were Imperial, that is, the reference is not to the Western Satraps, but to the Kushans.

The Nāgasena's are the Nāga dynasty of the Bhāraśivas wherein Vīrasena Nāga was the first king (of the Nava Nāgas of the Purāṇas) who defeated and dislodged them from Mathurā, and earlier still some king who founded *Kāntipurī* below the Vindhyas (Mirzapur) dispossessed them from Eastern Āryāvarta. (J. B. O. R. S., XIX, I). It seems very probable that the compound Nāga-Senas" is made up of the " Nāgas " and Pravara-" Sena " the Vākāṭaka emperor). "

The above commentary contains a confusion of issues. *Mañjuśrī's* datum about Nāgasena's geography is sought to be corroborated by reference to the Purāṇas which know no such person, but describe the Nava-Nāga family and the Vaideśaka Nāga family spreading over Vidiśā, Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā (Vs iv, 24, 17-18 ; Vā 99, 382-88). The next suggestion of Jayaswal[2] is based on his reading the coin illustrated in the Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum by Dr. Vincent Smith on plate No. XXII, fig. no. 15 as *Pravarasena* in place of Smith's reading *V (i) rasenasa*. As pointed out by Sir Richard Burn in the *Bib. Ind. Arch.*, for the year 1933, p. 11, the correct

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1 *Imperial Hist. Ind.* p. 26.

2 *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, Pts. I—II, pp. 37-38.

reading is *V (i) rasenasa* not *Pravarasenas(y)a.* Thus, neither the coins nor the Purāṇas can make room for the Nāgasenas between 78 A. D. and 350 A. D.

Then who are the Nāgasenas, and what about Mañjuśrī ? The answer is supplied by the passage itself quoted above. Jayaswal's translation is impossible. *Madhyamā* cannot mean *Madhyadeśa* in this context ; it is in contrast with *ante* in line 612 and *tadā* in line 611, lines 610–12 depending on the same syntax :—

" In the Northern region, of all the hills and dales will be termed Kings, innumerable, belonging to various nationalities. Listen about the Śakavaṃśa then of 30 rulers " 611. (Of these) are known 18 kings, half–the–number (i. e., ½ of 18 = 9) intervening or in the middle, at the end the Nāga–senas, the rest, however, they then disappear, " The limiting of the Śakavaṃśa to the northern quarter was the work of Samudragupta [1] and his successors. The Nāgasenas were a continuation of the severely circumscribed Śaka succession much after the Imperial Guptas. Their post–Guptan character [2] is further indicated by the *Mañjuśrī* by continuing the story by bringing in the next line rulers who came after the imperial Guptas, e. g. Īśāna, line 613. The 9 intervening kings in the north may be the Kidāra kings [3] of whom so many coins have been found in Kashmir and north-western Panjab, before the accession of the Kārkoṭaka or Nāga dynasty under Durlabha in 625 A. D. The Nāgasenas may be placed about 600 A. D. There is no evidence in the *Mañjuśrī*, and none elsewhere that the Nāgasenas ever fought the Śakas. On the contrary they appear in their line." As these (Nāga) coins weigh 120 and 121 grains, they are the direct descendants of the gold dīnars of the Kushān Princes, Kanishka and Huvishka in weight as well as in type, although the type is miserably degraded." (Cunningham, C. M. I., p. 29). With the Nāgasenas out of the way, it would be easier to focus attention on the really important discovery, viz., the *Nava* family of Nāgas who ruled along with the Guptas in the early fourth century before the founding of the

1 *Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushahi-Śaka-Muruṇḍaiḥ*, Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* p. 8.

2 V. Smith, *C. C. I. M.*, Kushān Coins, about 50 A. D. to 550 A. D., p. 63, 87-92.

3 V. Smith, *C. C. I. M.*, 90.

latter's empire. The geographical distribution of this *Nava* dynasty is highly instructive and is discussed further on.

This geographical check, however, will be of little avail, unless at the same time its limitations are clearly recognised. In the note referred to above (*A. B. I. A.*, p. 10) Sir Richard Burn expresses doubts regarding the ascription of coins—" while[1] the coins were certainly struck by rulers in the Doāb, the Purāṇas describe the Nāgas as rulers of Vidiśā. " Does Sir Richard suggest that Vidiśā has a constant, unique significance throughout the different periods of Indian history and literature ? If so, he is clearly wrong. None of the names connected with the coinage under discussion Vidiśā, Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī, or Mathurā has. Each no doubt refers to a definite area, but the area indicated in the 3rd–4th cent. A. D. is not the same as in the 2nd–1st century B. C., or in the 6th–7th cent. A. D. The purely geographical connotation is coloured by political or cultural considerations. Take Vidiśā. Its purely geographical location is, according to the Purāṇas, on the bank of the river Vidiśā rising from the Pāripātra mountain. But its political orbit is surely more extensive, the seat of Aśoka's viceroyalty (3rd cent. B. C.) it is used in a provincial sense in the title of Agnimitra as *Vidiśeśvara* (2nd. cent. B. C.) in *Mālavikāgnimitram* ; C. 3rd cent. A. D., *Vaidiśā* is mentioned by *Mahāmāyurī* (20) immediately after Girinagara and again after Avanti and Gomardana (49); the Bhilsa topes[2] show its orbit embracing Bharhut in the 2nd–3rd century. A glance at the map published by Cunningham in the Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. X, Plate I against p. 132, of Bundelkhand and Malwa (1880) makes intelligible the fluctuations within the orbit to the west towards Malava, and to the east towards Kośāmbī and Mathurā. Mathurā shows the same vicissitudes of designation from the foundation of the monastery of Naṭabhaṭa and the birth of Upagupta as predicted by the Buddha to the time of Ptolemy (2nd cent. A. D.) and later. Mathurā on the Jumnā has been placed in the kingdom of Kaspeiraioi (Kashmira, Kashmir) by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 47), who makes this kingdom stretch down to the Vindhya mountain. Ptolemy clearly

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1 V. Smith, *C. C. I. M.*, p. 90.

2 Cf. also Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 67.

distinguishes this Mathurā in Kaspeiraioi from the meridional Pāṇḍyamāthura.

(VII, 1, 89). Instead of comparing it with contemporary history and geography as recorded in literature, Sylvain Lévi [1] finds Ptolemy's location of Mathurā " aussi étrange que vague. " Perhaps the best parallel to the Vaidiśas are the Mālavas. " In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions the term Mālava is applied to various communities and territories, extending from the eastern Panjab to Ujjain. Tārānāth (Schiefner, p. 251) even speaks of Mālava in Prayāga, whatever that may mean. The Mālavas whose coins are here catalogued dwelt in eastern Rajputanā for four or five centuries, and may not have been the same people as the better known Mālavas further south. [2]

These pitfalls of the mere numismatist were pointed out vividly by Professor Cardwell[3] in his *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans* delivered in the University of Oxford :

" The evidence presented by ancient coins is open to every kind of objection, carried to, in some instances, to the greatest possible extent, to which any kind of testimony is exposed. It is most capricious in its application, being abundant in regard to some places which are almost totally unknown in common history, and most sparing in regard to others of general notoriety and yet coins may still be discovered in great quantities, and even in remote districts, which may change that inequality in any conceivable manner and degree. It labours under the disadvantages of fabulous devices, and forgotten languages, and evanescent figures ; and when all these difficulties are overcome, it repays your search after it by giving you a remote conjecture. It wraps itself up in the associations of distant times, and requires that you should be provided with the aids of ancient learning to explain them ; and at last perhaps, when you think you have discovered its meaning and its value, it comes forth an undisputed forgery. "[3]

The geographical distribution of the supposed Nāga coins is, however, a minor difficulty of Sir Richard Burn. Accepting that the Nāga coins are found from Vidiśā to Kauśāmbī, from

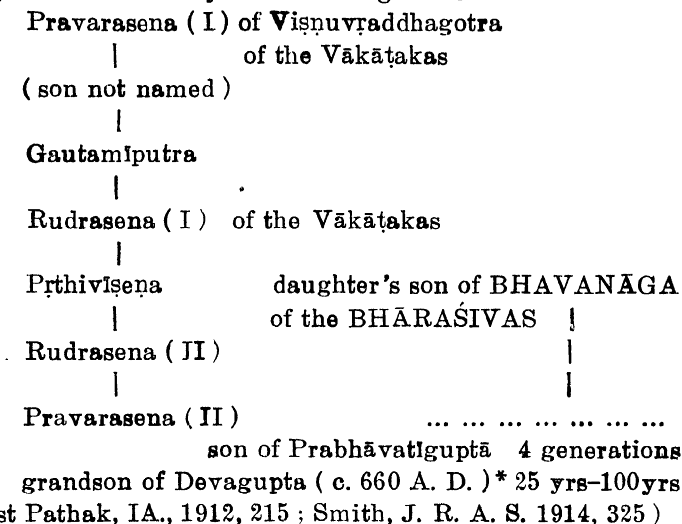
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1 *J. A.*, Janvier-Février, 1915, p. 75.

2 V. Smith, *C. C. I. M.*, p. 161.

3 Oxford, MDCCCXXXII, p. 30.

Kaliṅga to Kashmir, the misgivings regarding Mr. Jayaswal's thesis may be illustrated by the following chart :—



(Contrast Pathak, IA., 1912, 215 ; Smith, J. R. A. S. 1914, 325)

If Cunningham's date of Devagupta viz., 600 A. D.[4] be correct (C. M. I., p. 14) then Pṛthivīṣeṇa can be placed only c. 500 A. D. Mr. Jayaswal[1] calculaltes from the start of Vindhyaśakti at 248 A. D. which is against the Purāṇic datum which makes him *contemporary*, not *anterior* to the dynasties of Vidiśā :

Nṛpān Vaidiśakāṃś cāpi and contrast it with expression for 'posterior to' in *Tataḥ Kolikilebhyaś ca.* Vā makes the first reading (i. e. *cāpi*)......... *Caiva*, Bd *cātha*, whereas Vṣ substitutes the second reading (i. e. tataḥ) by *teṣu cānyeṣu.*[2]

The main contention, however, is about Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśivaṣ. Did he belong to any tribe or dynasty of Nāgas ? Were the Bhāraśivas a dynasty of Nāgas ? (i) Is there any other reference to the Bhāraśivas in the whole range of literature, inscriptions, any other evidence, principal or subsidiary—save and except this incidental mention in indirect way in the two inscriptions of the self-same third person viz., (a) Chammak plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II, and (b) Siwani plates of the Mahārāja Pravarasena II. The answer is an emphatic

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2 J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 289.

3 Pargiter, *op. cit.* pp. 48–9.

No. No attempt has been made to verify if the reading is actually *Bhāraśivānām*, the two inscriptions[1] being in the possession of Major Szczepanski and of Hazari Gond Malguzar respectively in the days of Dr. Fleet (1880). Under the peculiar absence of any corroboration, a verification is clearly indicated. The nearest approach is to the term *Varaśikha* mentioned in the Ṛv and explained in some of the commentaries of the Nirukta with no connection whatever with the Nāgas. (Cf. Varaśikha- M. N. pr. eines Feindes des Indra Ṛv 6, 27, 4, 5. Böhtlingk und Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch, 1871, Theil vi, p. 718).

(ii) On p. 8 of his *Hist. of Ind.*, Mr. Jayaswal states that the Bhāraśivas were Nāgas. Barring the oblique juxtaposition of the two terms *Bhāraśiva* and the second part of the compound in *Bhavanāga* is there any reference to the Bhāraśivas as Nāgas in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain chronicles, belles lettres, inscriptions or coins[2] ? Is there any reference to a Nāga *empire* anywhere between the 2nd-7th centuries A. D.? Is not the entire demarkation of empires one succeeding the other, the Kushān empire ending on a particular date (248 A. D.)[3] followed by another *empire* ending on another particular date an assumption at once unreal and gratuitous? Rapson gives a warning against this sort of simplified chronology: "But this is history distorted. Some editors have evidently placed independent lists in a false sequence and supplied appropriate links of connexion."[4] In the case of the Nāgas, however, even the Purāṇas are careful not to attribute or imply suzerainty to the two branches described separately, the Vaidiśa Nāgas and these at Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā ruling along with the post-Śuṅgan and Gupta rulers in the adjacent territories, in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D.

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1 Inscrs. suggest Devagupta as contemporary of Harṣa, cf. Madhuvan and Banskhera Plates. *EI.*, iv. pp. 210-211 : *EI.* vii, p. 155-160. Jayaswal ignores these inscrs. and makes Prabhāvatī a daughter of Candragupta II whose other name was Devagupta *Hist. Ind*, p. 63. Litearture and archaeology can be reconciled by postulating two Pṛthivīṣeṇas.

2 J. B. O. R. S. Pt. III, 1936 professes to reproduce a coin of Bhavanāga. The reading is doubtful.

3 Bachhoffer in his *Herrscher und Münzen der Späten Kusnānas* argues for Vāsudeva II in Kashmir after Kanishka II and Kanishka III, and even after 240 A. D. Cf. J. A. O. S., December 1936. pp. 429-439.

4 Rapson, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 310.

Mañjuśrī does not in this respect differ from the Purāṇas. (Mañjuśrī, 610–12).

Thus the mighty Bhāraśiva Nāga empire remains one of the "might-have-beens" of history, and cannot be sumbitted to scientific analysis.

On the other hand, substantial additions have been made to our knowledge of Nāga history. To revert to the Nāga groups mentioned at the beginning of this note.

NĀGAS.

I and II : Prior to the Śiśunāgas.

The Vedic and Epic literature, Buddhist and Jaina annals specially the Nīlamata Purāṇa show the very wide distribution of these mythic Nāgas, from their dislodgement from the Khāṇḍava forest (Mbh., Adi. 8050 ff.) to Janamejaya's sacrifice, their long history in Kashmir at one end (*Nīlamata Pur.*–) till their emergence into the historical period as rulers of Magadha in the 7th cen. B. C. (Lassen's *Ind. Alt.* (2nd. ed.) App. p. xxxviii ff.).

Of this period are :

(a) At Mahenjo-Daro. No. 27 on Pl. CXVI ; Pl. CXVIII, 11 (V 210). Faience. Size, 1·3 by 8·6 by 0·33 in. On the obverse is a seated figure on a dais, (The position in which this figure is sitting is typically Indian–Marshall flanked on either side by a kneeling worshipper. Behind each worshipper is a cobra in a vertical position. On the reverse there are five or six characters some of which are partly obliterated. "[1].

(b) Standing serpents with circular and linear markings i. e. at Kośāmbī on the Jumna (Allahabad Municipal Museum) and at Buxar[2] on the Ganges (Patna Museum).

(c) Sculptures down to the Topes at Sanchi and Amravati. "Serpent Worship has been obliterated or nearly so in the valley of the Ganges by the successive waves of Aryan or Mongolian migrations that have swept over it ; nor is it found except sporadically in any of the purely Tamilian countries in the Coromandel coast. On the other hand it seems to prevail in all the hilly countries south of the Vindhya Hill from Canara to Cuttack,

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1 Marshall, *Mahenjo-Daro*, vol. I, 68, vol. II, 395.

2 Banerji-Sastri, Pre-Hist. Civilisation in Gang. Valley, *JBIHS*, and Pathak Comm. Vol ; *JBORS*, 1932–33.

and in Cashmere and Nepaul. (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 1873, p. 84).

(d) The hoards of Punch-marked Coins ; these with the undoubted affinities with the Mahenjo-Daro seals may supply valuable light on Nāga origins and story up to the time of their appearance in the historical rulers of Magadha explicitly described as Śiśu-(i. e., Cadet)-Nāgas.

III & IV. Coming to the historical (Kali) age, the Purāṇas mention the following Nāga dynasties :—

A. ŚIŚU—NĀGAS B. C. (at Girivraja)

(1) Śiśunāga	733 B. C.	(2) Kākavarṇa	693 B. C.
(3) Kṣemadharmā	657 ,,	(4) Kṣatraujā	637 ,,
(5) Bimbisāra	612 ,,	(6) Ajātaśatru	572 ,,
(7) Darbhaka	544 ,,	Nāgadasaka	
(8) Udayāśva	519 ,,	Udayi	
(9) Nandivardhana	486 ,,	(10) Mahāpadma Nandī	444 ,,

His 8 sons of whom Dhanananda was king in 326 B. C, (Alexander's discomfiture.)[1]

B. His (Śiśunāga's son) at Vārāṇasī

C. VAIDIŚAKA—NĀGAS 3rd cent. A. D.

(1) Śeṣa—evidently not a Vaidiśaka, but a Nāga king ruling ?

(2) Bhogī (3) Sadacandra

(4) Dhanadharmā (5) Vaṅgara

(6) Bhūtinanda. (Śiśunandi, Nandiyaśaḥ appear to belong to a dynasty different from the Nāgas, though ruling in Vidiśā Cf. Pargiter, Dynasties of Kali Age, p. 49) *Śuṅgānāṃ tu kulasyānte*-a fresh family.

D. NAVA-NĀGAS early 4th cent. A. D.

Ruling at Campāvatī and Mathurā according to Vā 99, 382-388 ; at Padmāvatī, Kāntipurī and Mathurā accor. to Vṣ iv, 24, 18.

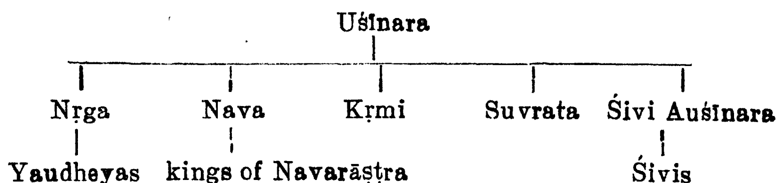
Acc. to Vā " Nine or new Nāgas will rule at Campāvatī, and seven Nāgas at Mathurā. "

Acc. to Vṣ " Seven of the Nava-Nāgas will rule at Padmāvatī Kāntipurī and Mathurā. "

Both interpretations are possible, but the second is preferrable in view of the use of *Śiśu* (cadet) and of Śeṣa (name) applied to earlier families and *Nava* may, mean either *new* or a *name*. This use is fairly common. Cf. the Uśīnara family as given in the

[1] Rapson, *Anc. Ind.* p. 313.

Brahmd, Vā., Brahmā and Harivaṃśa with the kingdoms of their descendants–



Here *Nava* can have one and only one meaning-name of a person. NAVA also was evidently the first king of his line. This view is strengthened by Mr. Jayaswal's[1] reading of the coins illustrated by V. Smith on Pl. XXIII, nos. 15, 16, described on pp. 199 and 206, *C. C. I. M.* "The reading *devasa* is due to Prof. Rapson. The first character, being peculiar in form, has been read generally as *Ne*, but *De* appears to be the correct reading. There is nothing to indicate who Deva was." *op. cit.* p. 199. Jayaswal read it as *Dhanadeva* in *J. B. O. R. S*, XX, 6 ; then corrected it to *Nava* in vol. XX, 306. In his *Hist. Ind.*, p. 18, he reads it as *Navasa.* The reading is correct as far as it goes. But there is another letter above *na.*

Cf. the two coins[2] nos. 15 and 16 on Pl. XXIII against p. 212. *C. C. I.*

(a) No. 15 is clearly within a square incuse, No. 16 has the line of the l. hand incuse, not the r. hand.

(b) In hammering the die on the flan, no. 15 has lost the l. hand edge, no. 16 the r. hand edge.

(c) No. 15 shows the third letter as clearly as no. 16 the first letter of the same line, viz., *na.*

(d) There is no doubt about the *va* under the tree in railing in either.

(e) But corresponding to the hooded snake to the r. of the tree in railing within the incuse on no. 15, to the l. of the tree in railing above the letter *na* is the conjunct letter Śrī[3] No. 16 carelessly hammered has partially lost the r. hand incuse the hooded snake, and the clear contour of the same Śrï.

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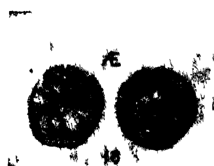
[1] Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, Pts. I–II, p. 18.
Sir Richard Burn, *A. B. I. A.*, *op. cit.*, p. 10, says— "has been variously read as *Nevasa*, *Devasu* or as part of a name—*navasa.*"

[2] See Nos. 1 and 2 in the adjoining picture.

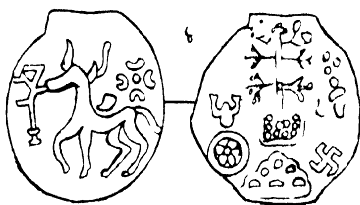
[3] Cf. the *Śrī* with the *Śrō* of Pallava Śivaskanda, 4th cent. A. D. Bühler's Tafeln, Tafel III. See No. 5 in the adjoining picture.



(1)



(2)



(3)

(4)

(5)

(f) Cf.[1] this *Śrī* on nos. 15 and 16 of Smith's *C. C. I. M.* Pl. XXIII, with the *Śrī* on nos, 19, 20, 23 and 24 of Pl. II of Cunningham's *C. M. I.*, Nine Nāgas, Narwar.

(g) The correct reading therefore is, *navasa* on nos. 15 and 16 of Pl. XXIII

Śrī NAVASA.

It finally settles the controversy in favour of Nava being the name of a king of the Nāga dynasty (*Nava–nāgaḥ*).

Sir Richard Burn is, however, right in contesting the reading of the name Rudra. The coin reproduced (photozincographed) by Cunningham on Plate II, (no. 8), vol. X of Archaeolgical Survey of India Reports (1880) leaves no doubt that it is part of a *nandipada*. Call it a *nandipada* (Burn, *op. cit.*, 11), *Dharmacakra* Cunningham, *op, cit.* p. 4), or Buddhist symbol (Fergusson, *Tree and Servent Worship, op. cit.* pp. 115–116), it occurs at Mahenjo-Daro (Marshall, *op, cit.* Vol. II, p. 436, no. 60) and on the earliest Punch-marked coins; it would repay further investigation.

It would be seen from the Purāṇic lists, that sometimes whole dynasties (cf. B above), often names of individual kings of a dynasty (cf. D. above) are left blank. The method inaugurated by the late Mr. Jayaswal may tend gradually to fill in the gaps. Premature ascription may give a wrong direction. Further researches into Nāga history demands—

(a) Collect all references to Nāgas from literature–tribe, dynasty, king or individual.

(b) Re–read the inscriptions for the same : (i) an untraced Nāga is mentioned in the Bharhut Tope ;[2] (ii) another Nāga–rāja from Rājagiri (*** *Rājagiriya Nāgaraja Rehajeṭhapitasa****) ; in the Amravati Tope, cf. no. XX Pl. LXXXII, Fig. 1 on Plate XCIX, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship, op. cit.*, p. 262.

(c) Re-read the coins with legends.

(d) Re-read, compare and contrast the symbols of the Punch–marked coins.

Nāga Symbolism.

It is yet a matter of controversy. Jayaswal says–" The *Vṛṣa* or *Nandi*, serpent and *triśūla* are prominent on the Nāga coins." This view is untenable. The *Vṛsa* and *triśūla* are found far more prominently on Kushān coins than on any other series : cf., Smith

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[1] See No. 3 in the picture facing page 348.

[2] Winternitz, Index Volume to *S. B. E.*, p. 389.

[3] See No. 4 in the picture facing page 348.

C. C. I. M., Pl. XI, nos. 4, 5, 7 ; Pl. XII, nos. 3, 6, 8, 14 ; Pl. XIII, nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 ; Pl. XIV, 1–15. The serpent occurs on many other non–Nāga coins : cf. Pl. XX, no. 6 ; Pl. XX, nos. 11, 12, Kaṇinda coins.

As a matter of fact, apart from the obvious representations and symbols under groups I and II above, though the names, sufferings and conversion of the Nāgas crowd the pages of the Mahābhārata and Mahāvanso, their personal appearance or characteristics are nowhere described. Only one passage in the Nāgānanda[1] describes a Nāga as the sculptures represent him. When the Nāga Śaṅkhacūḍā expostulates with the hero of the drama for his self-sacrifice, he exclaims : " The error is a likely one forsooth ! Not to mention the mark of the Svastika on the breast, are there not the scales on my body ? Do you not count my two tongues as I speak ? nor see these three hoods of mine the compressed wind hissing through them in my unsupportable anguish ? While the brightness of my gems is distorted by the thick smoke from the fire of my direful poison ? " This may be a correct description of the ideal Nāga under Groups I and II. For the historical period under Groups III and IV when the book was written, the curious part of the business is, that till he proclaimed it nobody saw it. Certainly Jimūtavāhana, the hero of the piece, took him for an ordinary mortal, and his mother had not a distinguishing mark. Even Garuḍa, who from his eating a Nāga every day for his lunch, ought to have been tolerably familiar with their characteristics, exclaims, " Both of you wear the distinctive badge (a red cloth) of victims. Which is really the Nāga I know not. "[2]

Sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amravati bear out the accuracy of this description. With new discoveries of inscribed Nāga coins and a more intensive study of the Punch-marked coins, more precision may be attained in the probable symbolism of Nāga numismatics.

1 *Nāgānanda* by Śrī Harṣadeva of Kanauj (610–648 A. D.).

2 *Nāgānanda* translated by P. Boyd, 1872, p. 84.

3 It is noteworthy that the *Svastika* mark occurs very rarely, if at all, on the Kushān coins, whereas they appear on some of the coins ascribed to the Nāgas and are found most abundantly on the Punch-marked coins—Besides the Caitya and the Bodhi tree, " the Svastika also is a well-known symbol " (Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, p. 61, cf. Pl. II).

PROBLEM OF THE *TAD UKTAM* SŪTRAS IN THE BRAHMASŪTRAS : SŪTRA III. 4. 42.

BY

Dr. P. M. MODI, M. A., Ph. D.

There are eight Sūtras in the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa in which the expression "*tad uktam*" occurs (Bra. Sū. I. 3. 21, II. 1. 31, III. 3. 8, III. 3. 26, III. 3. 33, III 3. 43, III. 3, 50. III. 4. 42). I propose to interpret *one* of these Sūtras (*upapūrvam api tv'eke bhāvam aśanavat tad uktam* III. 4. 42.) in this paper.

The problem of the *tad uktam* Sūtras arises from the fact that the references implied by the expression *tad uktam* (' it has been stated') are variously explained by various Ācāryas, even one and the same Ācārya interpreting it differently in different Sūtras. For example, Śaṁkarācārya explains *tad uktam* in three Sūtras as referring to some of the Brahmasūtras, and in the remaining five to the Jaiminisūtras ; Rāmānujācārya agrees with him in five Sūtras, but in Bra. Sū. III. 3. 8 and III. 4. 42 he understands the reference to have been made to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad and the Gautama Dharmasūtras (?), while in the case of Bra. Sū. III. 3. 50 the two Ācāryas take the expression as referring to different Sūtras of the Jaiminisūtras and Vallabhācārya agrees with Śaṁkarācārya in three cases only and explains *tad uktam* in Bra. Sū III. 3. 33, III. 3. 5o and III. 4. 42 as referring to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa–which all refer to the Jaiminisūtras according to Śaṁkarācārya ; the *tad uktam* in Bra. Sū. III. 3. 26 and III. 3. 43 refers according to Śaṁkarācārya and Rāmānujācārya to the Jaiminisūtras as shown above, but Vallabhācārya understands it to be a reference to Bra. Sū. III. 3. 29 and III. 2. 5 and to Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad III. 2. 3 respectively.[1] This problem of the expression *tad uktam*

[1] The following table will show the views of the three commentators regarding the works referred to by the *tad uktam* Sūtras in the Brahmasūtras–

No. of the *tad uktam* Sūtras	Works referred to by *tad uktam*. Śaṁkara	Rāmānuja	Vallabha
(1) I. 3. 21	Bra. Sū. 1 2. 7	The same as Śaṁkara.	The same as Śaṁkara.
(2) II. 1. 31	Bra. Sū. II. 1. 27	"	"

(*continued on the next page*)

and the vagueness of its implications in various Sūtras seem to have escaped the notice of modern scholars like Thibaut, Deussen and Ghate.

Two out of the eight *tad uktam* Sūtras have been already discussed by me in my Thesis (Akṣara : A forgotten chapter, P. 164 and P. 165). There I have shown that *tad uktam* in Bra. Sū. III. 3. 43 and in Bra. Sū. III. 3. 50 has a distinct reference to *itaravat* in Bra. Sū. III. 3. 16 and to Bra. Sū. III. 3. 42.

In order to discuss the significance of *tad uktam* in Sūtra III. 4. 42 it is necessary to interpret Sūtra III. 4. 41 also because the two Sūtras go to make *one* Adhikaraṇa.

To me it seems that these two Sūtras discuss the question whether the person that aspires after absolution should perform his professional duties or not. After '*ādhikārikam*' in Sūtra 42 the word *karma* seems to be understood. The Sūtra 32 runs as *vihitatvāc cāśramakarmāpi* and in Sūtra 42 we have *na cādhikārikam api* i. e. *na cādhikārikam karmāpi*. In Sūtras III. 4. 19 and 27 the author has mentioned certain *karmans* to be performed by the seeker after absolution. In Sūtra III. 4. 32 it is said that the seeker should perform the duties of his particular order of life also.[1] *Thus*, one may think that the Sūtrakāra would allow the seeker to perform the duties of his profession *also*. To this he seems to me to reply in the negative in Sūtra III. 4. 41.

I shall now literally interpret the Sūtras in question and offer the reasons for my interpretations in the form of Notes :

" And [the seeker of absolution should] not [perform] his professional duties *also* because of their dissociation [from him] due to the Smṛti mentioning his fall [from the endeavour to achieve absolution]. " Sūtra 41.

(3) III. 3. 8	Bra Sū. III. 3. 7	Chā. Upa. I	The same as Śaṁkara
(4) III. 3. 26	Jai. Sū. X 8. 15	Tue same as Saṁkara.	Bra. Sū. II. 3. 29, III. 2. 5.
(5) III. 3. 33	Jai. Sū. III. 3. 8	,,	Bhāgavata Pu. II. 9. 10
(6) III, 3. 43	Jai. Sū.	,,	Mu. Upa. III. 2. 3.
(7) III. 3. 50	Jai. Sū. XI. 4. 7	Jai. Sū. III. 5. 21	Bhā. Pu. IX. 4. 63
(8) III. 4. 42	Jai. Sū. I. 3. 8-9	Gautama I. 3.	Bhā. Pu. VI. 9. 39

1 The Sūtrakāra seems to hold the view that the seeker may be in any *one* of the *four* orders of life.

" But the followers of a certain Branch of the Veda *also* mention the *subordinate* or *side* (*upapūrvam*) existence [of professional duties with regard to a seeker in dire need], as they mention ' eating ' (beans) this has been explained " Sūtra 42.

Notes : Sūtra III, 4. 41.

1. In Sūtra III. 4. 41 we have to take *karma anuṣṭheyam* as understood, so that the Sūtra would be *na cādhikārikam api karma anuṣṭheyam. Anuṣṭheyam* I take as understood from Sūtra III. 4. 19 and 27 and *karma* from Sūtra III. 4. 32.

2. *Api.* in Sūtra 41 is necessary because the *Sūtrakāra* means that no professional duties should be performed *in addition to* the duties mentioned in Sūtras 19 and 32.

3. *Tat* in *tadayogāt* should refer to *ādhikārika karma* 'the professional duties (in the case of a seeker of absolution). *Tadayogāt* should mean ' because [the seeker has] no connection with those [duties]. "

4. *Patanānumānāt--Anumāna* means a Smṛti like the Gītā (Cf. *yogabhraṣṭa* in Bhagavadgītā VI. 37–44), the Mahābhārata, or even a Purāṇa. There are stories in these Smṛtis narrating how a seeker of absolution *fell* from his endeavour on account of his performing duties which are meant for certain professions only.

Sūtra III. 4. 42.

5. *Tv eke* shows that the Sūtrakāra is not in favour of the seeker of absolution doing any professional duties, but he only quotes the view of the followers of a certain Branch of the Veda, and therefore, he would not object to the seeker doing those duties under the circumstances mentioned in the Śruti in question.

6. *Bhāvam* means the existence of the professional duties. *Bhāvam* is used in Sūtra 42 in opposition to *na* in the preceding Sūtra which is equvalent to *a-bhāva.*

7. *Upapūrvam*—The word *upa* as well as the word *aśana* seems to me to be a clear suggestion for the Śruti referred to by *eke* in Sūtra 42. It is very likely that here the Sūtrakāra refers to Chāndogya Upaniṣad I. 10-11, particularly *tatr odgātṛn āstāve stoṣyamāṇān up opaviveśa sa ha prastotāram uvāca* (Chā. Upa. I 10. 8). To this passage (particularly *upopaviveśa*) we trace *upa* mentioned in the Sūtra (in *upapūrvam*); and this identity of *upa* in both the cases seems to me to be an important point in favour of the interpretation I have suggested here for these two Sūtras.

8. *Upapūrvam bhāvam* i. e. *upapūrvam ādhikārikasya karmaṇaḥ bhāvam*--By this expression the Sūtrakāra not only gives a clue to the Śruti he has in mind, but he also gives, it seems to me, his own interpretation of that Śruti. By *upapūrvaṃ karmaṇaḥ bhāvam* he seems to mean that if the seeker of absolution has to do professional duties, they should be *upapūrva* i. e. of a subordinate or subsidiary nature. " *Upa* " has this sense of subordination, e. g. in the famous illustration *upa harim surāḥ* (Pāṇini I. 4. 87, Sk,). The preposition *upa* may also mean " superiority " e. g, in *upa niṣke kārṣāpaṇam*. And, this sense may have been as well intended by the Sūtrakāra in *upapūrvaṃ bhāvam*. Thus, the Sūtrakāra interprets *upopaviveśa* to mean that Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa did not actually act as a priest in the sacrifice of the king, but he only *supervised* over the other priests that were actually officiating there ; so, this kind of secondary performance of professional duty may be allowed in the case of a seeker in dire need.

9. *Aśanavat*--This has a reference to the fact that in case of dire necessity Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa had to eat beans out of what remained, after the owner of the elephant had partaken of the same. This Uṣasti did only because he was dying of hunger. This is proved by the fact that though Usasti ate the " impure " beans, he refused to drink " impure " water offered by the lord of the elephant.

10. *Tad uktam*--This has undoubtedly a reference to Brahmasūtra III. 4. 28 viz., *sarvānnānumatiś ca prāṇātyaye taddarśanāt*. Śaṁkarācārya rightly explains *taddarśanāt* in Sūtra III. 4. 28 as referring to the story of Uṣasti Cākrāyaṇa (Chā. Upa. I. 10). But, somehow or other, perhaps due to the loss of tradition, he fails to realise that *aśanavat* in Sūtra 42 is a reference to the eating of beans by Uṣasti and that *tad uktam* in Sūtra 42, therefore, refers to the explanation of the story of Uṣasti given in Sūtra III. 4. 28. The Sūtrakāra means that the explanation of performing the professional duties by a seeker of absolution mentioned by the followers of a certain Branch of the Veda is *like that of the eating of beans by Uṣasti* in the same text and that the *explanation* of the latter *is already given by him* in the foregoing portion of the Sūtras viz. in III. 4. 28. Thus, the eating of the forbidden food and the doing of professional duties are

allowed in the case of a seeker of absolution only at the time when life is about to end if he denies himself the use of both. If we read the whole story of Uṣasti we find that he officiated at the sacrifice as a supervisor only because he was in dire need of money with which he wanted to buy the necessities of life without which he would have possibly died.

11. According to Śaṁkarācārya and other commentators Sūtra III. 4. 41 refers to the Section of Adhikāralakṣaṇa in the Jaiminisūtras (VI. 8. 21). Śaṁkarācārya was led to this belief only because the word *ādhikārika* occurs in the Sūtra (Bra. Sū. III. 4. 41). But the same word occurs also elsewhere in the Brahmasūtras, e. g. Bra. Sū. IV. 4. 18 (*pratyakṣopadeśād iti cen nādhikārikamaṇḍalasthokteḥ*) and Bra. Sū. III. 3. 32 (*yāvad adhikāram avasthitir ādhikārikāṇām*). In neither of these cases does Śaṁkarācārya or any other Ācārya explain *ādhikārika* as referring to the Adhikāralakṣaṇa of the Jaiminisūtras. Moreover, at the very first sight it looks absurd that the author of the Brahmasūtras should adversely criticise the Jaiminisūtras on a point which does not at all form a part of the Vedānta doctrine. Śaṁkarācārya connects *ādhikārika* with the word *prāyaścittam* taken as understood ; but there is no reference to any *prāyaścitta* in the Sūtras that are connected with Sūtra III. 4. 41 and therefore, that *adhyāhāra* seems to me to be unjustifiable in this context.

" *Patana* " of the Sūtra (III. 4. 41) Śaṁkarācārya unnecessarily changes into *apratisamādheya patana.*

" *Anumāna* " of the Sūtra should mean a Smṛti like the Gītā, the Mahābhārata, or a Purāṇa ; but so far as I am aware the Sūtrakāra never uses the word *anumāna* to mean a Law Book like that of Manu which, of course, can be called a Smṛti. In the latter case the Sūtrakāra would very likely use the word 'Smṛti' instead of the word *anumāna* because the use of *anumāṇa* in the sense of a Smṛti like the Manusmṛti would lead to a great confusion.

According to Śaṁkarācārya's interpretation *tadayogāt* in Sūtra III. 4. 41 becomes almost redundant.

In Sūtra III. 4. 42 Śaṁkarācārya interprets *upa* in the sense of *upapātaka,* and here, too, the topic of the Sūtra as given by

Śaṁkarācārya has nothing to do with Vedānta doctrine. The discussion of the relative sinfulness of a confirmed celibate cohabiting with any other women but his teacher's wife is quite out of place in the Brahmasūtras.

Similarly his explanations of *bhāva* and *aśana* also seem to me to be unacceptable on the same ground.

Śaṁkarācārya explains *eke* in the Sūtra as referring to *eke Ācāryāḥ* but gives no reference.

He explains *tad uktam* of the Sūtra (III. 4. 42) as referring to Jai. Sū. I. 3. 8 and I. 3. 9. This is quite inconsistent with the context as I have shown already.

12. Rāmānujācārya and Vallabhācārya refer *tad uktam* to Gautama and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

13. Madhvācārya reads *bhāvaśamanavat* in place of *bhāvam aśanavat* and thus seems to make the confusion of Śāṁkara Bhāṣya worse confounded.

The above interpretation of Bra. Sū. III. 4. 41–42 and the reasons for them would, I believe, amply show that (*aśanavat*) *tad uktam* in Sūtra III. 4. 42 refers to the words " *sarvānnānumatiś ca prāṇātyaye* in Bra. Sū. III. 4. 28. It would be rather strange if by *tad uktam* the Sūtrakāra were to refer to any other work but his own. On the contrary it would be quite proper if in *all* the Sūtras which make use of the phrase *tad uktam*, the Sūtrakāra were to refer to what he himself has said in the portion of the Brahmasūtras that precedes those Sūtras with *tad uktam.* But this latter still remains to be proved. Here I could do nothing more than offer a possible solution for *tad uktam* in only one of such Sutras.

THE COMPUTATION OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ.

S. N. TADPATRIKAR, M. A.

Sāhityācārya, Kāvyatīrtha, Vedāntatīrtha, Śāstrī Pandit R. M. Shastrī, M. A., M. O. L., of the Allahabad University, has contributed to the recent issue of the *Allahabad University Studies* ('pp. 67-82) an article on the above subject, supporting, in the main, the present text of the Bh. Gītā, containing 700 Ślokas and making a strenuous effort to make the present arrangement of the text to agree with the traditional one found recorded,* in some Manuscripts of the Mbh. at the beginning of the adhy. (43) next to the end of Bh. G. in the Bhīsmaparvan. Reference also has been made in the article to the critical edition of the Mbh. being published by the Bhandarkar Institute, expressing uncertainty as to what the editor of Bhīsmaparvan may, in the long run, decide about the history of the above mentioned lines.

The learned Pandit has satisfied himself with the–to him–evident fact that the passage in question bears "testimony to an early attempt of the custodians of the Mahābhārata in the direction of fixing the size and shape of the *pure* [italics mine]. Bhagavadgītā so as to have left no room for any interpolation therein."

By actual counting, the present text of the Gītā consisting in all of 700 Ślokas, is divided as follows : Dhṛtarāṣṭra 1, Saṁjaya 41, Arjuna 84, and Śrī Kṛṣṇa 574. And if these figures are compared with those recorded in the passage under reference, we notice less ślokas allotted to Saṁjaya and Kṛṣṇa, in the present text, and more to Arjuna, Dhṛtarāṣṭra alone keeping true to his one śloka throughtout these ages.

* These are, in all, 5½ ślokas, giving an aggregate text of 745 ślokas for the whole Gītā, distributed as follows :— Dhṛtarāṣṭra 1. Saṁjaya 67, Arjuna 57 Śrī Kṛṣṇa 620

षट्शतानि सविंशानि श्लोकानां प्राह केशवः ।
अर्जुनः सप्तपञ्चाशत् सप्तषष्टिं तु संजयः ।
धृतराष्ट्रः श्लोकमेकं गीताया मानमुच्यते ।

The remaning lines in this passage describe the माहात्म्य and फलश्रुति of the Bhagavadgītā :— It is intersring to note that two Mss, one in Śarada characters, and another in Kasmīrī Nāgari, read the second line as—अर्जुनः पञ्चपञ्चाशत् पञ्चषष्टिं च संजयः । thus reducing the total by four ślokas !

To find out the way out of this " two fold discrepancy " is the aim of Prof. R. M. Shastri, and first of all, he resorts to the old method of measuring a Sanskrit (Ms.) work by granthas, each grantha consisting of 32 syllables, the standard of an Anuṣṭubh śloka. And, while hoping that " this may remove the discrepancy on the side of decrease.... " we notice that in the table that follows, Prof. Shastri has succeeded in actually placing, to the credit of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the traditional number of ślokas, *i. e.* 620 !

But to achieve this, Prof. Shastri has to bring out certain arguments to support his manipulations, and these latter consist in relegating Arjuna's stuti in the 11th adhy. to the credit of Lord Kṛṣṇa, as it was he who lent divine eye to Arjuna. Thus killing two birds with one stone, Prof. R. M. Shastri succeeds in bringing Arjuna's quota down, while adding the same to the Lord's and bringing both to agree with their traditional share ! But in this the learned Pandit seems to expect too much meekness from his reader. For, admitting that the Lord helped Arjuna by giving him the divine sight, one does not see how He can be the direct agent of the *stuti* which is purely Arjuna's own inspiration, and thus *can not* be credited to Kṛṣṇa's account as this computator wants to do. What does Prof. R. M. Shastri mean by ' average part ' of Arjuna ? Was it that this was the only occasion when he recognised, in his friend Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme Lord, and praised Him as such ? And even of it were so, it was Arjuna, and not–No ! Never ! !—Kṛṣṇa who gave vent to this *stuti*. Unless, of course, the two are to be taken as one–but then, there would be no need of making any computation by analysis, at all ! The Lord is one, and he is responsible for all that we see or feel ; in fact, we *all* are none other than the Lord Himself, so that the whole question, and along with it, the vast world of Māyā fades away, as the Advaitin would have us believe !

This manipulation could succeed because, the controversial ślokas in the 11th adhy. are in the long ' Triṣṭubh ' metre, and their measurement according to the grantha standard did come up as required. But still there remains that naughty Saṁjaya with only 41 ślokas to his credit, and with only a few in the long metre ! And he has to go up to the figure 67 !

But Shastriji is really out to bring about the agreement *by any means* ! and consequently finding that the Gītā *text* affords no

further scope for exploration, he catches hold of the 18 long, adhy. Colophons, and thrusts to them into Saṁjaya's pocket! And then, with a sigh of relief, the Pandit writes out the फलश्रुति of his labours: "Importance of the present study."

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Now, first, with regard to the reliability of this passage of 5½ ślokas, in adhy. 43 of the Bhīṣmaparvan, it is interesting to note that it is omitted in *all* southern Mss., more than half Nāgarī Mss, and in *two* (out of seven) Bengali Mss, so far collated for our Bhīṣmaparvan, and from this data, the present writer, though no authority in the matter, can certainly expect–from what he has so far studied—that in the Critical Edition the passage will be put *down*, below the line, as an "insertion"! And yet, howsoever late its birth be, the computation as recorded in the passage, *can not be* a work of mere imagination! It is an undoubted fact: the person who composed this passage, had found the Gītā text to contain 745 ślokas divided as per the record, and still it seems *equally certain* that that person *did not* follow Prof. Shastrī's method to take a round about way to arrive at the figures!

This method of measuring any Sanskrit work by the general grantha standard, came into vogue when the professional scribes who copied Mss. as a means of livelihood, had to be paid, by the employer. Number of syllables in a line, as also the number of lines in a page were counted, and the contents of the whole work were thus made out by applying the Grantha standard of measure. Of course, references to speakers such as श्री भगवानुवाच etc.–as well as adhy. Colophons could not be, and were not, omitted from this* calculation. To discard the उवाचs, which, according to Prof. R. M. Shastrī, 'come to more than 10 Ślokas' and to accept the colophons only, is more or less arbitrary.

The colophons, too, which Prof. Shastri, has requisitioned to make up Saṁjaya's quota, are not as uniform as he takes them to be: While the modern long formula इति श्रीमद्भगव० ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे···नाम···अध्याय:। is *not* found in Mss. of old dates; these latter contain, mere 'इति श्रीभगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ॥' a formula of 13 syllables only, which, put together for all the 18 adhy. make $7\frac{10}{32}$ ślokas only, and these leave Saṁjaya poorer by a matter of about 11 ślokas even after doing justice to the उवाचs, which Prof. Shastri wants to leave out!

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* This point has been discussed in all its details, by Dr. Sukthankar, in his Prolegomena (p. XCIX) to Ādiparvan.—Vol. I of the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

This discrepancy, 'apparent' to Prof. R. M. Shastri and real to many others, has brought to light some interesting features of the human mind. The late Lokamanya Tilak, in his immortal work 'Gītārahasya', has opened this topic, but he had at last to leave the matter as uncertain. Prof. Edgerton, discussing the propriety of subjective criticism of the Gītā text by Prof. Garbe, makes the following conclusive statement: "There is absolutely no documentary evidence that any other form of the Gītā than that which we have was ever known in India. This, of course, does not prove that none ever was known; but it leaves a strong burden of proof upon those who maintain such a theory." The Śuddha Dharma Maṇḍala of Madras have sometime back, published an edition of the Gītā, containing 745 ślokas; the additional 45 ślokas, are found elsewhere in the Mbh. and the arrangement of the text, too, is much different from what we find in the current text. Add to this a still more curious phenomenon: a Ms. of Bhīṣmaparvan has, after the 18 adhy. of the Gītā text, an additional passage called गीतासार, and this, when a few needless repetitions probably due to scribal errors, are put aside, would amount to 90 lines or 45 stanzas, *exactly*! This seems to be a clear attempt to bring the Gītā text of 700 ślokas up to the traditional figure 745! This passage contains matter regarding details of practical yoga, a subject apparently left out, in the existing text.

Then there is Prof. Schrader's Kāśmīrī recension of the Bhagavadgītā, brought to light only some years back, *after* the above works were published–which contains some 21 additional ślokas and numerous *v. l.*, all supported by a few well-known old commentators like Abhinavagupta. This Kāśmīrī tradition can surely take the Gītā text back to some centuries previous to the 10th, but even this does not satisfy the curiosity of the student who is out to find a text of 745 ślokas.

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Thus the question of computation, though attacked from different points of view, has yet remained unsolved, and although the student of Gītā has to thank Prof. R. M. Shastri for his laborious attempt at a fresh attack, he has, all the same to confess that the success, if at all it has to be called as such, is not convincing— there are so many slippery grounds that one feels quite tottering as he follows Prof. R. M. Shastri's line of action.

THE FORMATION OF KOṄKAṆĪ*

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There is nothing to add to Prof. Bloch's explanation of these forms ; this aspiration appears to be connected with *r* or *s* in the ensuing syllable or else with an aspirate in PI-A. already lost in the Sk. forms.

(b) This class comprises the major instances of aspiration in Koṅkaṇī. Here the aspiration is directly the result of deaspiration of a following syllable, as no non-initial aspirates are suffered in all the dialects of Koṅkaṇī.

Examples :

kh : *khãi* (*kásmin* : MI-A. *kamhi*, Ap. *kahiṁ*) where ? ; s. gs. *khākko*, gx. *khāk*, *khāk* (*kākṣá-*, *kakṣa-* : MI-A. *kakkha-*or *kaccha-*) the armpit ; s. gs. gx. *khāk-tā* (*kakhati*) coughs ; gx. *khoṁkli* cough.

gh- : *ghara* (*gṛhá-*: MI-A. *ghara-*[1] already, and so under (a) above) house ; *ghettā* (*gṛh-*, but cf. MI-A. *ghei*, *gheccham*, *gheppaï*, *ghettūṇa*, etc.).

th : *thãi* (*tásmin* : MI-A. *tamhi*, Ap. *tahiṁ*) ; gx. *thāṁgā* there, thither ; *thiṁgā* there ;— gx. *thoĩ* there.

dh : *dhãi* (*dádhi-*: MI-A. *dahi-*) curds ; *dhā* (*dáśa* : MI-A. *daha*) ten ; *dhāḍi* (*dṛḍha-*) power, strength (possibly from *dṛḍha-* strong, firm, through extention to **dṛḍhikā* : *daḍhiā*, cf. Pk. *daḍha-*, *daḍhia-* : **dāḍhiā*).

ph : *phāppuḍ-tā*, gx. *fāfḍuṁk* (*pra-sphuṭ-*: cf. Pk. *papphuṭṭaï*, *papphuḍia-*) shakes, tosses, rejects ; *phovu* (*pṛthú-*) parched rice ; *phāṭi* (*pṛṣṭi-*) the back.

bh : *bhāira* (Pā. *bāhīro* outer, cf. Sk. *bahiḥ* out) outside ; *bho* (*bahú-*) much, too much ; *bhoḷo* (*bahula-ka-*) credulous, believing.

The number of these examples can easily be multiplied ; they will be fully indicated in their proper places in the *Comparative Glossary*.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the opposite tendency, two examples of initial aspiration where PI-A. and MI-A. show only

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* Continued from the Annals Vol. XVIII Part (iii) p. 264.

1 Pa. Pk. *gharam* n. a house is connected with I-E **g^{w}horo-* fire, heat, hearth, see Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, iii, p. 401 ff., and Turner-N. 154. b. 8-9.

a vowel may be cited here : s.gs. *hūna* (*uṣṇá-*; MI–A. *uṇha-*) hot; *hūma* (*ūṣmá-*; MI–A. *umha-*) sweat, perspiration.

§ 79. Just as we have a change from the unaspirated stop to an aspirated stop there is also the change of the original aspirated stop losing its aspiration in Koṅkaṇī. The deaspirating tendency of Koṅkaṇī has been so well-marked that it has even been said that Koṅkaṇī possesses no aspirates at all. But this is an exaggerated view of things belied by an inspection of any of the lexical works published on this Language for all its dialects. Nevertheless the cases of deaspiration are greater than those of aspiration.

DEASPIRATION.

§ 80. Since Koṅkaṇī does not tolerate aspirates except in the initial position, it will be evident that cases of deaspiration may be divided into two classes: (a) initial deaspiration and (b) non-initial deaspiration, of which the last is universal without any exception. Orthographically the aspirates are still shown (cf. Mgr. Dalgado's *Koṅkaṇī Dictionary* or Mr. Valavlikar's writings) but they do not represent the actual state of affairs, and thus sacrifice accuracy by a slavish imitation of the orthography of other NI–A. languages or a consciousness of the etymological equivalence.

(a) Initial deaspiration :

k-<(*kh-*): s. gs. *kāṁḍ-tā* (*khaṇḍayati*) pounds, breaks into pieces; *kaḷu* besides *khaḷu* (cf. Sk. *khalī*, v. s. v. *khali* in TND.) juice, gravy; ns. ngs. *kiḍki* (Sk. *khaṭakkikā*, s. v. *khirki* in TND) a window; gx. *kālto*: g. ngs. *khālto* (lw. Ar. *khālī*).

g-<(*gh-*): s. gs. *gacci* thrust, push (cf. Nep. *ghaccā*); *guṭṭu*; *ghōṭu* swallowing; *gāgrī* (Sk. *ghargharī-*) girdle of small bells worn by women; *guṭukku* (cf. Nep. *ghuṭukka*) with the sound of swallowing; *gurguru* (cf. Nep. *ghurghur*) snarling; -gx. *gāṇ*, s. gs. *ghāṇi* smell (*ghrāṇa-*).

t-<(*th-*): g. gx. *tor*, s. gs. *tharu* manner, way (cf. Nep. *thar* 2. clan, tribe, and Kan. *tara-*); s. gs. *tur-turi* (cf. Nep. *thurthuri*) quickly.

d-<(*dh-*): s. gs. *danda* household or other work (Nep. *dhandā*) trade); *dammu* breath or asthma (cf. Hindi *dam* breath, Nep. *dhamkīko bethā* asthma).

p–<(*ph*–): *pirāṁta* (lw. through Malayalam id. ∠ **phrānta*– ∠ *bhrānta*–) foolish.

b–<(*bh*–): *bokko* boil (cf. Nep. *phoko* boil); *bāila*, sv. *bhāila* (**bhāirā*∠**bhāri(y)ā*∠*bhāryā*) a wife, woman.

(b) Non-initial deaspiration :

1° In the final PI–A. or MI–A. syllable :

–*k*<(–*kh*): g. gx. nx. *khāk* arm-pit (*kákṣa*– : *kakkha*); *bhūk* (*bubhukṣā* : *bubhukkhā*) ; *tīk* (*tīkṣṇá*– : *tikkha*-) sharp, pungent.

–*g*<(–*gh*) : g. gx. nx. *vāg* (*vyaghrá*– : *vaggha*–) a tiger.

–*ṭ*<(–*ṭh*) : g. gx. nx. *phāṭ* (*pṛṣṭhá*–) the back ; *sāṭ* (*ṣaṣṭi*-) sixty.

–*ḍ*<(–*ḍh*) : g. gx. nx. *kāḍ* take away (MI–A. *kaḍḍhaï*) ; *ḍeḍ* (MI–A. *diyaḍḍha*–) one and a half.

–*t*<(–*th*) : g. gx. nx. *hāt* (*hásta*– : *hattha*–) the hand.

–*d*<(–*dh*) : g. gx. nx. *dūd* (*dugdhá*– : *duddha*–) milk : *sāṁd* (*sandhí*–) a joint.

–*p*<(–*ph*) : g. gx. nx. ?

–*b*<(–*bh*) : g. gx. nx. *gāb* (*gárbha*–).

2° In the interior of a word :

–*k*–<(–*kh*–) : s. gs. *sākara*, gx. nx. *sākor* (Pā. Pk. *sakkharā*, cf. Sk. *śárkarā*) ; *vākkaṇa* (*vyākhyāna*–) dictation, speech, etc. : *pāk*–*lī* (*pákṣman*–) eye–lash ; *āikatā* (Pā. *ācikkhati* : Pk. *āikkhaï*) listens : *vikray*-*tā* (*viṣkirate*) spills, etc.

–*g*–<(–*gh*–) : s. gs. *jāṁg*–*sāni* (*jaṅghā*–*sandhi*–) the groin.

–*j*–<(–*jh*–) : s. gs. *sāṁja* (*sandhyā*) evening ; *śijtā* (*sídhyati*) gets boiled, is cooked : *rijtā* (*ṛdhyati*), etc. ;—cf. *sam*–*ja*-*tā* (in opposition to NI–A. *samajh*–).

–*ṭ*–<(–*ṭh*–) : s. gs. *mīṭa* (*mṛṣṭá*–) salt ; *pīṭa* (*piṣṭá*–) flour made into a dough ; these examples, if given for g. gx. nx. would come under the case of final deaspiration.

–*ḍ*–<(-*ḍh*–) : s. gs. *aḍḍeca*, g. gx. nx. *oḍeč* (*ardha*– + **tṛtya*–) two and a half ; *sāḍe*– (*sārdha*–) a half over.

–*t*–<(-*th*–) : s. gs. *māttẽ* (*mastakam*) the head ; *sāttẽ* (*chatrakam*) a parasol or umbrella.

–*d*–<(–*dh*) : s. gs. *budvaṁtu* (*buddhi*–) clever ; *madrāti* (*mádhya*–) midnight ; *bādsuytā* (*bādhayati*) affects adversely ; *rāṁdapa* (cf. Sk. *randhá*–*yati* prepares food) cooking.

–*p*–<(–*ph*–) : s. gs. *phoppaḷa* (*pūgaphala*–) areca nut ; *āpaḍ*–*tā* (*ā*–*spṛṣṭa*– : MI–A. *apphuṭṭha*–, *apphuḍa*–) touches.

–*b*–<(–*bh*–) : s. gs. *śaṁbari* (cf. Mar. *śẽbhar*) a hundred.

It will be evident that these examples given above are only selective. In every occurrence of a non-initial aspirate stop in cognate languages, Koṅkaṇī presents the simple unaspirated stop. We might also consider here the loss of the aspiration of *-h-* of MI-A. both in words as well as inflectional endings: in the numbers (numerals) from 11 to 18 the form *-rasa-* of MI-A. and *-raha-* of Ap. (Sk. *-daśa-*) is reduced by loss of *-h-* to *-rā*: *ikrā* (*ekādaśa*: Ap. *ekkāraha*) eleven, *bārā* (Ap. *bāraha*), *terā* (Ap. *teraha*), etc. Similarly the oblique forms of the simple (unextended) masculine *-ā* and plur. *-ā̃* are due to loss of *-h-* in the Ap. ending *-aha* and *-āhaṁ*.

§ 81. In § 75 we have spoken of the four stages or categories in the development of Koṅkaṇī Consonantism, a development which was throughout continuous, but divided in this way to understand the processes at work.

In the first stage of MI-A. final consonants are lost and consonant groups assimilated, with a few exceptions in groups containing a sibilant or *r*.

In the second stage sonorisation and loss of intervocalic stops take place, *-m-* becomes *-ṽ-* and *-n-* becomes *-ṇ-*, etc.

In the third stage double consonants of MI-A. tend to simplify (except in s. gs.) into a single consonant with compensatory vowel lengthening.

In the fourth stage the loss of final vowels of MI-A. and certain short vowels between consonants re-establishes the PI-A. system of final stops (see §§ 15-16).

§ 82. These changes have given rise to the following Koṅkaṇī Consonant System :

Occlusives :

Gutturals	*k*	*kh*	*g*	*gh*
Palatals	(see under affricates ; Koṅkaṇī does not show real palatals.)			
Cerebrals	*ṭ*	*ṭh*	*ḍ*	*ḍh*
Dentals	*t*	*th*	*d*	*dh*
Labials	*p*	*ph*	*b*	*bh*

Affricates :

Palato-alveolar	*c*	*ch*	*j*	*jh*
Dento-alveolar	*č*	*ch*	*ǰ*	*ǰh*

Continuants :

Sibilants *ś ṣ s*
Semivowels *y v*
Liquids *r l ḷ* (*ṛ*)
Breathed *h*
Nasals : *ṇ n m*

Gutturals

§ 83. The gutturals *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* have not changed their articulation from PI-A. and MI-A. and are pronounced today as in Sanskrit. In gx. however there are certain words where an *f*-sound has developed for *kh* :
gx. *fiḷi*, s. gs. *khīḷi* a latch ; gx. *fiḷo* a nail s. gs. *khīḷo*; gx. *fobŏr*, s. gs. *khabbari* news ; gx. *forĕ*, s. gs. *khorĕ* a hoe ; gx. *foro*, s. gs. *kharo* true ; gx. *foroz*, s. gs. *kharǰu* itches , gx. *fuśāl*, s. gs. *khuśāla* happiness, merriment ; gx. *fuśī*, s. gs. *khuśi* wish, desire, pleasure.

Palatals

§ 84. The true palatals of OI-A. do not exist in Końkaṇī today. As early as in MI-A. they were lost when in the intervocal position singly. The double palatal of MI-A. when intervocal has survived in NI-A., but everywhere with a sibilant glide, and thus become an affricate. Końkaṇī distinguishes two series here : the palato-alveolar and the dento-alveolar affricates. Before the vowels *i*, *e*, (i. e. close and half-close front vowels) we have the palato-alveolar *c* and *j* ; before others the dento-alveolar *č* and *ǰ* ; see *Końkaṇī Phonetics*, § 15.

Cerebrals

§ 84. The dental series of I-E. has survived in OI-A. in two streams : dental and cerebral. The influences at work have been thoroughly discussed by Wackernagel in his *Altindische Grammatik* I, §§ 143-151, pp. 164-177.[1] These factors may be summed up as follows ; cerebralisation takes place in OI-A. of the dental in the presence of *ṣ* (itself cerebralised from *s* in the presence of a preceding *-i-*, *-u-* or *-r̥-* or the consonants *-k-* or *-r-* with which it is in combination) or **-ẓ-* (i. e. the sonant of *-ṣ-*) ; and also in the presence of *r̥*, *r* or *l* or the diphthongs *e* or *o*.

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[1] See also Turner : *Cerebralisation in Sindhi*, JRAS. 1924, pp. 555-584 ; *Guj. Phonology*, JRAS. 1921, pp. 512 ff. ; Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 53-59.

The process of Cerebralisation in the presence of *ṛ* or *r* (and incidentally of *l*) has not been regular in OI-A.; thus besides *kaṭá-* we have *kṛtá-*; similarly we have *vártate.* But in the case of MI-A. this has been more general: Sk. *vártate*: Pa. 1° *vaṭṭati* turns round; 2° *vattati* happens, takes place. When the liquid *r* is separated from the dental by a vowel, we observe cerebralisation in MI-A. in certain cases, and to a slight extent in OI-A. itself; *práthati/-te* : *paṭhati.*[1] But Turner in his recent review of *L'indo-aryen*[2] offers a very ingenious suggestion which deserves careful consideration, namely that of ablaut not recognised so far in OI-A. by others in the forms **pṛthati/-te* for the above and in the case of Pk. *paḍhama-* to OI-A. **pṛthama-* (cf. *prathamá-*), and thus reduce most of these examples to cerebralisation in the presence of a *ṛ*-vowel on the analogy of **śṛthira-*: **śrathira-* (cf. √*śraṭh-*).

CEREBRALISATION.

§ 85. We shall consider the cases of cerebralisation under the following heads:—

1° Preceded at a distance by *r*

2° Preceded immediately by *ṛ*

3° Preceded immediately by *r*

4° Followed immediately by *r*

and 5° (a) Single and intervocalic dentals

(b) Double and intervocalic dentals

(c) Initial dentals

and lastly

6°. *n* and *l*, initial and intervocalic.

§ 86. 1° Preceded at a distance by *r*[3]:

(a) Dental remains: s. gs. *bhāu* (*bhrā́tṛ-*); *pailo* (*prathamá-* **prathila-*) first.

(b) Cerebralised: s. gs. *pāḍvo* (*prātipada-*); *gā̃ṇṭi* (*granthí-*: MI-A. *ganṭhi-*).

2° Preceded immediately by *ṛ*:

(a) Dental remains: s. gs. *māti* (*mṛ́ttikā*); *mello* (*mṛtá-*); *kellẽ* (*kṛtá-*).

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1 Wackernagel, I, § 146 a). p. 167; Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 56.

2 BSOS. VIII, Part I, p. 205

3 Unless we consider the theory of ablaut propounded by Turner above. The cases considered here the same that Turner has given in his *Cerebralisation in Sindhi*, JRAS 1924, pp. 558 ff. or with a slight alteration those in his *Guj. Phonology*, JRAS 1921, pp. 512-13.

(b) Cerebralised: s. gs. *vāḍi* (*vṛddhi-*); *saḍlu* (**sṛthira-*): *maḍẽ* (*mṛtakam*).

§ 87. 3° Preceded immediately by ***r***:

rt: (a) Dental remains: *kātri* (*kártarī*); *vāti* (*varti-*)

(b) Cerebralised: s. gs. *vāṭa* (*vártman-*); *āṭ-tā* (*árta-*)

rth: (a) Dental remains: *čoutho*(*caturthá-*)

(b) Cerebralised: ?

rd: (a) Dental remains: *pādu* (*parda-*) a fart.

(b) Cerebralised: s. gs. *gāḍḍava* (*gardabhá-*); *soḍ-tā* (*chard-*: MI-A. *chaḍḍa-*); *kavḍi* (*kapardikā*) a cowrie.

rdh: (a) Dental remains: gx. *ādo* (*ardha-*) a half.

(b) Cerebralised: *sāḍhe* (*sārdha-*); s. gs. *deḍu* (*dvy-ardha-*: MI-A. *diyaḍḍha-*); *aḍḍeča* (*ardha-*tṛtya-*); *vāḍ-tā* (*várdhate*).

4° Followed immediately by ***r***: Dentals remain:

tr: *tīni* (*tríṇi*); *pūtu* (*putrá-*); *sūta* (*sútra-*).

ntr: *āṁta* (*āntrá-*).

dr: *nīda* (*nidrá*); *muddi* (*mudrikā*) moonlight.

ndr: *naṇad* (*nánāndṛ-*); *čāṁdnẽ* (*candrikā-*).

In this case there is no example of cerebralisation.

§ 88. 5° Single intervocalic dentals: these are all lost in Konkaṇī. Examples:

-t-: *māulo* (*mātula-*) maternal uncle; *pai* (*páti-*) name-ending in the Gauḍa Sārasvata community.

-d-: *nhãi* (*nadí*); *mou* (*mṛdú-*); *khā-t-tā* (*khádati*).

In the case of the corresponding aspirates the aspiration alone remains with the loss of the occlusion:

-th-: *kāṇi* (*kathānikā*); *gū* (*gūthaka-*).

-dh-: *dhãi* (*dádhi-*); *honni* (*vadhú-*).[1]

(b) Double and intervocalic dentals: these, whether of OI-A. or MI-A. origin, are in general preserved as single with compensatory lengthening of preceding vowels if short before, and thus we may consider them in the same manner as initial single dentals.

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1 See *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, I, pp. 176-177 on *Sanskrit bhaginī and its cognates*. The K. word *honni* has there been shown as the normal descendant of Deśī *vahuṇṇi* (i. e. Sk. *vadhū* + Dravidic. *aṇṇi*).

Initial

t-, *-tt-*

tāṁbḍẽ (*tāmra-*); *tāka* (*takram*); *tisro* (*tisráḥ*)etc.

th-, *-tth-:*

thaṁḍi (*stabdhi-*) cold ; *the-mbo* (*stīmá-*, *stịmyati*) a drop.

d-, *-dd-*:

dūda (*dugdhá-*) milk ; *dora*, *dōri* (*dáru*) string, rope : *distā* (*dr̥śyate*) is seen, appears.

dh-, *-ddh-*:

dhani (*dhanín-*) a rich man, owner ; *dhuvvōru* (*dhūmrá-*) smoke, etc.

Double and intervocalic.

pūtu (*putrá-* : *putta-*) son; *sūta* (*sútram*) string ; *sāttẽ* (*chatraka-*) parasol, etc.

gx. g. *māthẽ* (*mastakam* : *matthakam*) head.

muddi (*mudrikā*) a ring; *dūda* (*dugdhá-*) milk; this example should really come under *-ddh-* as the MI-A. form is *duddha*.

buddi (*buddhi-*) intelligence ; *budvaṁtu* (*buddhivant-*) clever, intelligent ; *suddi* (*śu-ddhi-* : Sindhi *sudhi* knowledge, see *JRAS* 25. 568 ; cf. Kanarese *suddi* news ;) news, information.

This conservation of intervocalic double consonants is general, as will be seen later (see §§ 121 ff.) and is not limited to the dentals alone.

§ 89. 6° Initial *n* and *l* have remained unchanged :—

n- : *nhãi* (*nadī́*) ; *nārlu* (*nārikela-*) cocoanut ; *nevālẽ* (*nūpura-* Pk. *nevura-*) a girdle ; *nāva* (*náman-*) name, etc.

l- : *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva : *lāgtā* (*lagna-*) touches, comes into contact; *lāja* (*lajjā*) shame, etc.

(b) Intervocal and single : in these cases they have been cerebralised regularly :—

-n- : *śeṇa* (*chagana-*) cow-dung ; *sāṇa* (Sk. lex, *śānaḥ*, Sk. *śāṇa-* m. f.) a grinding stone ; ns. *gāṇẽ* (*gāyana-*) singing ; *jaṇa* (*jána-*) people ; *vhāṇa* (*upānáh-*) shoes ; *nhāṇa* (*snāna-*) bath ; *khāṇa* (*khādana-*) food etc.

-l- : *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva ; *meḷtā* (*mil-*) meets ; *vaḷẽ*, *baḷẽ* (*valaya-*, **balaya-*) ; *kāḷu* (*kalá-*) time ; *vēḷu* (*véla*) time ; *āḷū* (*āluka-*) tubor, potato ; *tāḷu* (*tálu-*) palate ; *bhoḷo* (*bahulaka-*) simple, etc.

§ 90. When intervocal and double, both these remain dental, and are identical with the same when single and initial.

–nn– : *māna* (*mányā*) the nape of the neck ;

-ll- : *kāli* (*kalya-*: *kalla-*) yesterday; *pāl-ki* (*pary-aṅka* ; * *paly-aṅka-*) a palanquin ; *mhāllo* (*mahallaka-*) great, especially in the s. gs. word *mhālgaḍo* elderly.

Dentals.

§ 91. Dentals have not changed their articulation except in the cases considered above. Their true pronunciation has been indicated in *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, § 12.

Labials

§ 92. There is no change in the modern pronunciation of these in Koṅkaṇī, except where *ph* is concerned : in the Christian dialects generally and in certain Hindu dialects, e. g. ns., ngs., g., etc. to a certain extent this aspirate is pronounced as a dento-labial fricative *f*, and so indicated in the x–dialects in Roman Transliteration.

Nasals.

§ 93. Only three nasals have independent existence, *ṇ*, *n* and *m* ; The two others *ṅ* and *ñ* exist only in combination with their class consonants, though in actual orthography only the *anusvāra* is shown.

Initially *ṇ*, *n* and *m* have survived, though Prakrit orthography indicates a supposed change of PI-A. *n-* to MI-A. *ṇ-* with a regular throw-back in the case of NI-A. to *n-* once more. Medially PI-A. intervocal *-n-* became MI-A. *-ṇ-* and remained so in the West and North-West but became *-n-* again in the central and eastern group. As opposed to this, on the other hand, MI-A. *-ṇṇ-* (from whatever source) has become generally *n*. In Koṅkaṇī *ṇ* is a nasalised cerebral spirant as in Gujarātī (see *Guj. Phon.* § 48).

Intervocalic *-m-* has generally become-*ṽ* or-˜*v*- in Koṅkaṇī.

y

§ 94. PI–A. *y* has not survived in Koṅkaṇī. Initially it has become *j* : *jŏgi* (*yogin-*) an ascetic : *jānvẽ* (*yajñopavītá-*) the sacred thread. Intervocally when it was single it was entirely lost without leaving any trace except perhaps in the group *-aya-*. When in combination with other consonants it was assimilated

with or without influencing the consonant it followed. In the case of the dentals and *r* it has influenced the resulting assimilation through palatalisation.

But the *y* sound has developed in Koṅkaṇī through MI-A. as a "*hiatus-tilger*" or as a glide to avoid hiatus when two vowels came into contact through loss of an intervocalic consonant in MI-A. Similar to this *y*-glide we have also a *v*-glide (see § 49).

v

§ 95. Koṅkaṇī has preserved, like Marāṭhī, Gujarātī, Sindhi, Western Panjabī, Singhalese and Kaśmīrī,[1] initial *v*- as also MI-A. -*vv*- ∠ PI-A. -*rv*-, -*vy*-. Words with *b* are to be regarded as loans from central and eastern languages. In Koṅkaṇī it is pronounced generally as a dento-labial.

In the group dental + *v* Koṅkaṇī has the dental treatment as opposed to Gujarātī. Where the labial treatment is seen we have to consider the word as loans from Gujarātī or, at any rate, from the extended loans in almost all other NI-A languages similarly affected.

Liquids

§ 96. The Liquids *r* and *l* of I-E. have not met a uniform treatment in Sanskrit. As early as the Ṛgveda three dialects differed in this: one distinguished *r* and *l* of I-E. The second confused them as *r* while the third confused them as *l*.[2] With the exception of Māgadhī Prakrit, most MI-A. languages have preserved both *r* and *l*, but they do not always correspond to Sk. *r* and *l*. A few examples of Koṅkaṇī may suffice here to indicate the lack of correspondence.

(a) K. *l* = Sk. *r*: s. gs. *sā̃bāḷtā* (*saṁ-smarati*), looks after: *nikkaḷtā* comes out, *ukkaḷtā* raises (*niskaroti*, *utkaroti*), but cf. Sk. √*kal*-; *āllẽ*, (*ārdraka*-) ginger, *vallẽ* wet; *ghoḷtā* (*ghūrṇa*-) drudges.

(b) K. *r* = Sk. *l*: s. gs. *rākkuḍa* (*lakuṭa*-) faggot, fire-wood.

§ 97. PI-A *r* has retained its pronunciation in all positions, but PI-A. *l*, when single and intervocal has become -*ḷ*- with which we can parallel the change of -*n*- to -*ṇ*-. For its correct pronunciation see *Koṅkaṇī Phonetics*, § 24.

[1] Turner, *Guj. Phon.* § 50; Bloch *La langue marathe*, § 120; Jain, §§ 41-142.

[2] Wackernagel, I, §§ 191 ff; Turner, *Guj. Phon.* § 52; Jain, § 143.

In a certain number of cases Koṅkaṇī hesitates between *n* and *l*, particularly when initial :—s. *loṇcẽ*, gs. *noṇcẽ* (*lavaṇa-*) pickles , s. *nimbuvo*, gs. *limbiyo* (*nimbū*) [1]

So far as I have studied the different dialects of Koṅkaṇī I have not been able to find traces of the retroflex lateral *ṛ*, though the Rev. Father Fernandes, once Secretary of the Koṅkaṇī Committee, wrote to me giving me examples of this *ṛ*. Until a scientific and phonetic study through instruments is made of these examples, its existence in Koṅkaṇī must remain a surmise only. Its absence, particularly in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī, the two languages most nearly related to Koṅkaṇī, supports so far my own experience with actual examples.

Sibilants

§ 98. In most MI-A. languages PI-A. *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* are not distinguished. With the single exception of Māgadhī all MI-A. languages reduce these three PI-A. sibilants to *s*, while Māgadhī reduces them to *ś*. In the case of that interesting dialect of the gamblers seen in the play Mṛcchakaṭika, the Ms. evidence seems to point out to the interesting treatment : PI-A. *ṣ*, *s*>*s*, PI-A. *ś*>*ś*. Koṅkaṇī, however, like Marāṭhī and Gujarātī, does not distinguish etymologically these three PI-A. sibilants. All become *s* in MI-A. (with the exception of Māgadhī as mentioned above). This *s* of MI-A. then becomes *s* or *ś* according as the following vowel is *ĭ*, *ĕ* or not :— s. gs. *ek-śẽ* (< *śatam* : MI-A. *sayam*), *śĩ* (*śītam* : MI-A. *sīyaṁ*), etc.

In the numeral *dáśa*, MI-A. *dasa*, *s* becomes *h* in Koṅkaṇī s. gs. *dhā* (<**dahā*); this *h* is then lost in the number 11 to 18 (see § 80). In some Persian loan-words, the change *s* to *h* is regularly seen : *hapto* a week, cf. *sāta* seven (<*saptá-*).

§ 99. When the sibilants are in combination with nasals three treatments are distinguished in MI-A. These divergences in the development of these groups, *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm* are :—

(a) *m* is asimilated after metathesis : Pā. *raṁsi* Sk. *raśmi-*; Amg. *tārisagaṁsi* < **tādṛśaka-smin*.

(b) The sibilant becomes an aspirate, producing the grop *hm*, which by metathesis of *h*, becomes *mh* ; on else, as in other cases,

1 For a similar change in Sk. see Wackernagel, I, § 175, p. 196, where even *-n-* and *-l-* alternate, as in Lex. *tānūra-* : *tālūra-*.

we may consider an initial change of these groups to **mmh* and then to *mh*, since this is not recognised as an aspirate of *m*, but as a group of *m* and *h*.

(c) The group becomes *pph.*[1]

Of these Konkaṇī regularly has the (b) divergence. It is possible, however, to consider in the case of s. gs. *thaĩ* (**tahiṁ*) *khaĩ* (**kahiṁ*) the forms *taṁsi, kaṁsi* for PI-A. *tásmin, kásmin* with a subsequent change of the sibilant to an aspirate, > **tàṁhi, *kaṁhi.* The third treatment is rather a rare one.

The Aspirate

§ 100 The breathed consonant *h* of PI-A. has remained in Konkaṇī in the initial position only : *hātu* (*hastá-*) hand ; *haḷadi* (*haridrā*) turmeric. But when non-initial, PI-A. *h* aspirated the initial consonant and disappeared from its medial position : s. gs. *hāḍtā* brings (*āhr̥ta-* > MI-A. *āhaḍa-* > **hāaḍa-* **hāḍa-*) ; *bho* (*bahú-*) much, many.

In a few loan-words the alternation of *h* and *d* is observed :- s. gs. *dasto* a hand played or dealt in card-play : *hātu.*

SIMPLIFICATION OF DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

§ 101. The simplification of double consonants, the result of MI-A. assimilation of consonant groups, did not take place uniformly in MI-A or generally till a late period. Certain changes in MI-A. remain inexplicable, such as Pāli *kaṭṭha-* and *kaḍḍhati* < Sk. *kr̥ṣṭá-*. Pāli *kaḍḍha-* may be derived from **kāḍhya-* < passive of **kāḍha* < * *kāṭha* < *kaṭṭha-* < *kr̥ṣṭá-*, but the assumption does not seem to be justified in view of its linguistic complicity. But it throws an interesting light all the same on the absence of uniformity of the process of simplification.

The special treatment of the double consonants in the case of s. has already been studied in § 63. In the case of other dialects the simplification has been attended by compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel : g. gx. nx. *hāt, hātāk* as opposed to s. *hātu, hāttāka.*

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1 Turner, *Guj. Phon.*, § 55.

INITIAL CONSONANTS

Stops

§ 102. Initially all stops remain :

k : s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. g. *kān* (< *karṇá-*) ear ; s. gs. *kāma*, x. gx. nx. g. *kām* (*kárman-*) work · *kāj̆jaḷa* (*kajjala-*) lamp black , *kiḍo* (*kīṭaka-*) a worm ; *kullo* (*kulyā*) buttock ; *keḷē*, *kēḷī*(*kadalī*) ; s. gs. *kōṇu*, x, gx. nx. g. *koṇ* (*ka-*).

kh : s. gs, *khaṇūka*, gx. nx. g. *khoṇuṁk* (*khánati*) to dig ; *khāṇa*, *khāttā*, x. gx. nx. *khātā* (*khādati*) eats ; s. gs. *khūru* (*khura-*) hoof.

g : s. gs. *gavḷi* (*gopāla-*, see § 68) cowherd : *gābu*, x. gx. nx. *gāb* (*gárbha-*) embryo ; *giḷtā* (*gil-*), swallows ; *gūḷi* (*gulikā*, *guṭikā*) a pill , s. gs. *gello*, x. nx. gx. g. *gelo* (*gata-*) ; *goro* (*gauraka-*) fair.

gh : nx. g, gx. *ghaḍ-tā* (*ghaṭate*) happens ; *ghāṭu* (*ghaṭṭa-*) ferry ; gx. g. *ghī* (*ghṛtá-*) clarified-butter ; *ghūvtā* (*ghumāyate*) rolls,turns round ; gx. *ghām* sweat (*gharmá-*) ; *ghoḍo* (*ghoṭaka-*) a horse.

c : s. gs. *c̆ano* (*canaka-*) Bengal gram ; *c̆āb-tā* (*carvati*) chews ; *cibbaḍa* (*cirbhaṭikā*) musk-melon ; *c̆unno* (*cūrṇa-*) lime ; *ceḍo* (*ceṭaka-*) a man-servant ; *c̆ōmci* (*cañcu-*, *cuñcu-*) a beak ; *c̆ōru* (*corá-*) thief.

ch : No examples ; in this case Koṅkaṇī and Marāṭhī have lost the occlusion, giving us only *s* (or *ś* if the following vowel is *ĭ* or *ĕ*) : *śeṇa* (*chagana-*) cow-dung ; *śindᵃtā* (*chinatti* > **chindati*) cuts.

j : *j̆aṇa* (*jána-*) person ; *j̆ānvē* (*yajñopavītám*) sacred thread ; *jīvu* (*jīvá-*) life ; *jikᵃtā* (*ji-*) wins ; *j̆uḷᵃtā* (*juḍ-*) agrees ; *j̆ūna* (*jūrṇá-*) old, ripe ; *jevaṇa*, (*jemana-*) dinner.

jh : s. gs. *j̆harᵃtā* (*jharat-*) ; *j̆hāṇṭi* (*jhāṭa-*) ruffled hair.

ṭ : s. gs. *taḷē* (*taḍāga-*) a lake ; *tāḷu* (*tálu-*) ; *tāpᵃ-tā* (*tapyate*) gets hot ; *tisro* (*tráyaḥ*, *tisráḥ* **tisraka-*) third ; *tīni* (*trīṇi* > MI-A. *tiṇṇi*) three ; *tīka*, x. nx. gx. g. *tīk* (*tīkṣṇá-*) hot, pungent; gx. nx. g. *tuṭoṁk* (*truṭyate*) to break; *tū* (*tvám*, *tᵘvám* > MI-A. *tumaṁ*)

you, thou ; *terā* (*tráyo-daśa*) thirteen ; *to* (*tad-*) he ; s. gs. *toṁḍa* (**tauṇḍa-*) face.

th : Examples of these in PI-A. are very limited, and are generally of an onomatopoetic nature. s. gs. *thar-thar-tā* (*thara-tharāyate*) trembles, feels giddy ; *thū* (*thut*) spit, the sound of spitting, *thaï-thaï* (*thai-thai*) the imitative sound of a musical instrument in dancing.

d : s. gs. *dammu*, x. gx. nx. *dom* (*damayati*) tired breathing; *dāṁtu*, x. gx. nx. *dāṁt* (*dánta-*) tooth ; *distā* (*dṛśyate*) i seen, appears ; *duk-ta* (*duḥ-kha-*) pains, *dūki* suffering ; s. gs. *deḍu*, x. gx. nx. *deḍ* (*dvy-ardha->* MI-A. *di-yaḍḍha-*) one and a half; *dora*, *dōri* (*dáru-*) a rope, cord or string ; *dōni* (MI-A. *doṇṇi* < PI-A. *dváu*) two.

dh : s. gs. *dhani*, x. gx. nx. *dhōni* (*dhan'n-*) lord, master ; *dhar-tā* (*dharati*) holds, supports, contains ; *dhāra*, gx. nx. *dhār* (*dhárā*) sharpness ; *dhīṭu* (*dhī-*) strong, able ; *dhuvaṇa* (*dhovana-*) washing ; *dhūḷi*, x. gx. nx. *dhūḷ* (*dhūli-*) dust ; *dhōbi* washerman.

p : ns. gx. nx. g. *paḷ^{a}tā* (*palāyate*) runs away, flees s. gs. *paṇ-asu*, gs. x. *poṇōsu*, gx. nx. g. *poṇōs* (*panasa-*) jack-fruit ; s. gs. *pāli* (*pāli-*) turn, chance ; *pāku* (*pakvá-*) boiled sugar ; *pittā*, x. gx. nx. *pītā* (*pibati*) drinks, *piṇẽ* drinking ; s. gs. *pūtu*, x. nx. gx. g. *pūt* (*putrá-*) a son ; *pēṭa* (*pratiṣṭhā*) market place ; s. *pokkaḷa*, x. gx. nx. *pokaḷ* (*puṣkalá-*) empty ; *pornẽ* (*paurāṇaka-*) old, ancient.

ph : s. gs. *phaḷa* (*phalá-*) fruit ; *phūla*, gx. *pful* (*phulla-*) a flower.

b : ns. ngs. *baḷ^{a}-vaṁtu* (*bala-*) strong ; *bāṁdūka*, x. gx. nx. g. *bāṁduṁk* (*badhnāti* > **bandhati*) to bind ; *bī* (*bíja-*) a seed ; *bud^{a}vaṁtu*, x. gx. nx. g. *bud-voṁt* (*buddhi-*) clever, learned ; *bora*, gx. *bor* (*badara-*) jujube.

bh : s. gs. *bhaṣṭa* (*bhṛṣṭa-*) defiled, polluted ; *bhag^{a}tā* (*bhagná-*) wastes away ; *bhikāri* a beggar, *bhīka* begging (*bhikṣá*); *bhũi* (*bhúmi-*) earth ; *bhōv^{a}tā* (*bhramati*) wanders.

§ 103. In the case of the cerebral series, the examples found in Sk. and PI-A. are themselves of a Prakritic nature. Most of them are, besides, of an onomatopoetic nature, found in almost all MI-A. and NI-A. languages.

ṭ : s. gs. *ṭā̃ko*, a stamped coin, especially in *Rām*^{a}*–ṭā̃ko* (*ṭaṅkaka-*).

ṭh : *ṭhākur* (*ṭhakkura–*) a deity.

ḍ : *ḍora, doṛa* (*ḍora–*) a string.

ḍh : *ḍhā̃kṇẽ, dhā̃kṇẽ* a lid (< Sk. *ḍhakkaṇa-* m. n. shutting of a door, etc.).

The actual illustrations of the use of these Sk. words are to be found only in lexicons and late compositions. Hence we have to consider these as really examples of MI–A. rather than of PI–A. and so leave them out from § 102 above.

NASALS

§ 104. Initial *n–*, *m–* remain.

n : s. gs. ***navẽ***, x. gx. nx. *novẽ* (*navakam*) new ; s. gs. *naḷi*, x. gx. nx. *nōḷi* (*nalikā*) a reed ; s. gs. *nā̃va*, x. gx. nx. *nā̃u*, *nā̃v* (*nāman–*) name ; *nāstā* (*náśyati*) gets spoiled (of milk), curdles ; s. gs. ***niddatā***, x. gx. nx. *nidetā*, sleeps, ***nīda***, x. gx. nx. *nīd* (*nidrā́*) sleep ; *neṇ*^{a}*tā* does not know (*na* + *jānāti*).

m [1] : s. gs. *mana*, x. gx. nx. *mon* (*mánas-*) mind ; s. gs. *mān̄a*, x. gx. *mān* (*mányā*) nape of the neck ; *miṭhāi* (*miṣṭa–*) sweetmeat; *mīṭa* (*mṛṣṭá–*) salt ; gx. x. nx. g. *mūṭ* (*muṣṭí–*) a handful ; *mev*^{a}*ṇo* (*maithunaka-*) brother-in-law ; *mōgu* (*m*^{o}*ha–*) love, attachment.

§ 105. So far as MI–A. is concerned the Mss. hesitate in the use of initial *ṇ*- and *n–* for PI–A. *n–*. For Turner's opinion on NI–A *n–* for MI–A. *ṇ–* see *Gujarātī Phonology*, § 48.

y, v, r, l

§ 106. Initial *y* > *j* ; *v*, *r*, *l* remain.

y : *ǰōgi* (*yogin–*) an ascetic ; *javḷā* (*yugala-*) twins ; *jānvẽ* (*yajñopavītá-*) the sacred thread ; ns. n. gs ; x. nx. gx. *ǰo* (*ya-* relative pronoun ; *jūī* (*yūthikā*) a creeper ; *ǰōḷu–* (*yáva-*) barley, millet.

In the s. word *ūvvu* (*yūkā*) the initial *y–* seems to have disappeared.

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[1] In the case of s. *māṅgli*, gs. *māṅguli* and of s. gs. *māngo* derived from these in the sense of "*membrum-virile*" initial *m–* of Koṅkaṇi represents Sk. *l–*; cf. Sk. *lāṅgūla– n.* "*membrum-virile*" whence the extended forms ***lāṅgūlikā*** > K. *māṅgli, māṅguli*

r : s. gs. *ragata* (*rakta-*) blood ; *raḍ*^{a}*-tā* (*raṭate*) cries ; *rāyu, rāṇi* (*rájan-, rájñī*) ; *rittě,* x. gx. nx. *ritě* (*riktá-*) empty ; s. gs. *rukū,* x. gx. nx. *rūk* (*rukṣá-,* cf. *vṛkṣá-*) tree ; *rěva* (*revā*) sand ; *roma* (*roman-, loman-*) hair.

l : s. gs. *lāja,* x. gx. nx. *lāj* (*lajjā*) shame ; *lāka,* gx. nx. x. *lāk* (*lākṣā*) lac ; *lāḷa* (*lālā*) saliva ; gx. *līnpoṇ* (*līna-*) humility ; gx. *lipoṁk* to hide (*lupyáte*) ; gx. *liuṁk* to write (*likháti*) ; s. gs. *lep*^{a}*tā* daubs (*lip-* : *lepa-*), *lěv*^{a}*tā* licks (*limp-*) : gx. *lōb* (*lobha-*) avarice, greed.

v : s. gs. *vačūka,* x. gx. nx. g. *vočuṁk* to go (PI-A. **vṛtyate* : MI-A. *vaccaï*) ; *vāti* (*varti-*) a wick ; s. gs. *vāṭa,* x. gx. nx. *vaṭ* (*vártman-*) way ; s. gs. *vīju,* x. gx. nx. *vīj* (*vidyút-*) lightning ; s. gs. *vaki, vōki* (*vam-*) throwing out, vomitting.

SIBILANTS

§ 107. PI-A. *ś* and *ṣ* became MI-A. *s* ; *s* remained. Secondarily in Koṅkaṇī MI-A. *s* has became *ś* in the presence of *ĭ*, *ĕ*.

ś : s. gs. *sonně* (*śūnyá-*) zero ; *śiṁga,* gx. nx. *śiṁg* (*śṛṅga-*) horn ; s. gs. *śisāru* (*śīrṣá-*) migraine ; *sukkě* (*śúṣka-*) dry ; *śeḷŏ* (*śévala*) ; *śeṁḍi* (*śikhaṇḍá-*) tuft of hair.

ṣ : s. gs. *sa* (*ṣáṭ-*) six ; *sāṭi* (*ṣaṣṭí-*) sixty ; *saṭṭe* (*ṣaṭka-*) the sixth.

s : s. gs. *savo* (< *śapati*)[1] curse ; *śivaytā* (*sívyati*) sews ; *soro* (*súrā*) intoxicant ; *śij*^{a}*tā* (*sídhyati*) gets ready or cooked.

h : s. gs. *hātu,* x. gx. nx. *hāt* (*hásta-*) hand ; *hāstā* (*hasati*) laughs ; *hĩgu,* gx, nx, *hĩg* (*hiṅgu-*).

FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 108. In PI-A. the only consonants which could remain at the end of a word were the nasals, visarga and the unaspirated breathed stops.[2] But already in MI-A. these had either disappeared or reformed as *a*-stems : MI-A. *vijju* < PI-A. *vidyút, kakuha-* < **kakubha-* (*kakúbh-*). The visarga disappeared giving MI-A. *-o* or *-e* for PI-A. *-aḥ*.

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[1] In both s. and gs. there is a meaning yielding the sense of "lovingly abusing" with which we should compare Sk. *sapati* : follows, is devoted, honours, serves, loves, caresses.

[2] Guj. Phon. § 61.

Final nasals all disappeared with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS

§ 109. Intervocalic *-k-*, *-g-*, *-c-*, *-j-*, *-t-*, *-d-* are lost.

-k-: s. gs. *kāmāru*, x. gx. nx. *kāmār* (*karmakāra-*) iron-smith; *čāmāru*, x. gx. nx. *čāmār* (*carmakāra-*) hide merchant; s. gs. *kāyḷo*, g. ngs. *kāvḷo* (*kāka-*) a crow; s. gs. *māitẽ* (*mastakam*) head; *sāttẽ* (*chatrakam*) parasol; *-ẽ* (<*-kam*); *-o* (<*-akaḥ*).

-g-: s. gs. *kuḷāra* (*kulāgāra-*); *rāvḷār* (*rāja-kulāgāra-*); *šeṇa* (*chagaṇa-*) cow-dung; *lāytā* (*lāgayati*) as opposed to *lāgtā* (<*lagyate, lagna-*).

-c-: gx. g. nx. x. *sūi* (*sūcī-*) a needle; s. gs. *pisso*, gx. x. nx. *piso* (*piśāca-ka-*) mad.

-j-: s. gs. *rāyu* (*rājan-*); *bī* (*bīja-*) seed; *rāṇī* (**rāj^a nī*<*rājñī*) a queen.

-t-: *bhāu* (*bhrātṛ-*) brother; *māvḷo* (*mātula-*) uncle; *tiḷēl-* (*tila-*tailya-*); x. gx. nx. *ākẽ* (*ákṣata-*) absolute, whole, entire; *-śẽ* (*śatam*); *ṣī* (*śītá-*) cold; *śēḷı* (**śītalikā*); *kellẽ* (*kṛtá-*).

-d-: s. gs. *khāṇa* (*khādati*) eatables; *pāuṇ-* (*pādona-*); *vāna* (*vādana*, but as lw. with *-n-* for *-ṇ-*); *sāṇa* (*chādana-*); *mou* (*mṛdú-*) *pāyu*, *pāvu* (*pāda-*) foot, quarter, a measure.

In the above examples a *-y-* or *-v-* is sometimes found as a result of a tendency to bridge the gulf between the two vowels brought into contact as a result of the loss of the intervocal consonant (see § 49).

§ 110. The aspirates *-kh-*, *-gh-*, *-th-*, *-dh-*, *-ph-*, *-bh-* lost their occlusion and became *-h-* in MI-A. which converged with PI-A. *-h-* in the later stage.

-kh- : ?

-gh- : ?

-th- : *phōvu* (*pṛthu-*: *puhu-*); *paulo* (**pahilo* < **prathila-*); *ǰūyi* (*yūthikā*) a creeper; *kāṇi* (**kahāṇi*<*kathānikā*) a story; *gū* (**gūha* < *gūtha-*) dung.

-dh- : *dhāi* (**dahim*<*dádhi-*) curds: s. gs. *honni* (*vadhū* + Dr. *aṇṇi*, cf. Deśī *vahuṇṇī*); *mhōvu* (*mádhu-*) meed.

-ph- : s. gs. *śiyāḷẽ* tender cocoa-nut (through * *śihāḷẽ* < *śrī-phalaka-* & *śiraḥ-phalaka-*[1]).

-bh- :

§ 111 In the case of intervocalic cerebrals it has been pointed out that they are more of MI-A. than PI-A. sounds. Whatever be their origin, MI-A. *-ṭ-*, *-ḍ-* > K. *-ḍ-* ; MI-A. *-ṭh-*, *-ḍh-* > K. *-ḍh-* > *-ḍ-*.

-ṭ- : s. gs. *kaḍu*, x. nx. gx. *kōḍu* (*kaṭu-*) bitter ; s. gs. *vaḍo* (*vaṭaka-*) ; *vaḍārūku* (*vaṭa-vṛkṣa-*) ; *maḍẽ* (* *maṭakam* < *mṛtá-*) corpse ; *saḍlu* (* *saṭhila-* < * *śṛthira-*, cf. Sk. *śithira-*) lose ; *kīḍo* (*kīṭa-*) worm ; *phōḍi* (√*sphuṭ-*) ; *moḍatā* (*moṭayati*) breaks ; *pūḍi* (* *puṭikā*, cf. *puṭa-*).

-ḍ- : s. gs. *jaḍu*, x. gx. nx. *jŏḍ* (*jaḍa-*) heavy ; *čūḍi* (*cūḍā*) ;

-ḍh- : s. gs. *jaḍu* (*jaḍhu-*) stupid.[2] But this is more likely to be from PI-A. *jaḍa-*

-ṇ-, *-n-*, *-m-*

§ 112. The history of *-ṇ-* and *-n-* was dependent on their position in the word.

1° In the body of a word both appeared as MI-A. *-ṇ-* giving us Koṅkaṇī *-ṇ-*.

-ṇ- : s. gs. *ghāṇi*, x. gx. nx. *ghāṇ* (*ghrāṇa-*) smell ; s. gs. *kaṇ-asu*, x. gx. nx. *koṇōs* (*kaṇiśa-*) ; s. gs. *kaṇu* (*káṇa-*) a grain ; *śeṇa* (*chagaṇa-*) ; s. gs. *aṇvo* (*aṇukaḥ*).

-n- : s. gs. *ūṇẽ* ; (*ūnaka-*) ; *kāṇi* (*kathānikā*) ; *tāṇᵃtā* (*tānayati*) ; *āṁgaṇa*, x. gx. nx. *āṁgoṇ* (*aṅgana-*) court-yard ; *khāṇa* (**khādana-*) ; *vākkaṇa* (*vyākhyāna-*).

2° In inflexional suffixes *-ṇ-*, *-n-* become an *anusvāra* in MI-A. or a nasalization of the surrounding vowels.

nom. plur. neut. *-akāni* > * *-ikāni* > *-ī̃* : *phaḷī̃* < *phalakāni* (through **phalikāni*).

instrum. sing. *-akena* > Ap. *-aeṁ* > K. *-ẽ*.

gen. plur. *-akānām* < K. *-ā̃*.

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[1] *Archiv Orientální*, vol. IX, No. 1-2, pp. 215-216 : Sanskrit *śrīphala* and " divine fruit. "

[2] Guj. Phon. § 65, Cf. Sk. *jáḷhu-*.

nom. plur. neut. *-īni* > *-ĩ* in *dhãi* (< * *dahĩ* > *dadhīni*).

For an alternate explanation of Sir George Grierson, see § 59, f. n. 1 above.

§ 113. The history of intervocalic *-m-* also depended on its position in the word.

1° In the body of a word it appears as *-ṽ-*, generally nasalizing the preceding vowel and itself losing the nasalization.

s. gs. *nãva*, x. gx. nx. g. *nãv* (*nāman-*) name ; s. gs. *gãu*, x. gx. nx. *gãv* (*grāma-*) village ; s. gs. *Jãvaï* (*jāmātṛ-*) ; s. gs. *bhõvᵃla* (*bhramati*) wanders ; *bhũi* (**bhũvi* < *bhūmi-*) the earth ; *jãvᵃla* (*yamala-*) twin.

In a number of cases the nasaliation cf *-v-* is lost without affecting the preceding vowel :

s. gs. *bhovvaru*, *bhōvaru* (*bhramara-*) a bumble-bee ; *pãčvo* (*pañcamá-*) fifth, and *-vo* (*-makaḥ*) in ordinals from seven onwards ; here the analogy of *pãčvo* (*pañcamaka-* > * *pãč-ṽo*) where the loss of nasaliation of *-ṽ-* occurs through dissimilation, explains the loss in the other cases : s. gs. *gavu*, x. gx. nx. *gōv* (*godhūma-*) wheat ; s. gs. *dhũvōrū* (*dhūmrá-*) smoke.

2° In inflexional suffixes *-m-* becomes an *anusvāra* or a nasalization of the surrounding vowels.

1st sing. *-āmi* > K. *-ã* (through * *-āmⁱ*).

1st plur. *-āmaḥ* > MI-A. *-āmo* > K. *-ũ* in gx. *vortoutãũ* we are, *vortoutālyãũ* we were, etc.

-ch-, *-jh-*

§ 114. In § 110 we left out the question of the palatal aspirates. From the point of view of I-E. grammar both these are not aspirates corresponding to *c* or *j*, but are in reality the result of a combination of a sibilant and a consonant. As such both *-ch-* and *-jh-*, though orthographically indicated as simple sounds, are in fact pronounced as *-cch-* and *-jjh-* respectively, and should, therefore, be treated under the section of consonants in contact. In Mss. however they are shown as simple sounds.

y , *v*

§ 115. a) Intervocalic *-y-* was lost.

s. gs. *mōru*, *mhōru* (*mayūra-*) a peacock ;

b) MI-A. *-y-* introduced as a hiatus bridge has remained : s. gs. *kāy*^{a}*ḷo* (*kāka-*) a crow ; *rāyu* (*rájan-*) a king.

c) In the group *-aya-* we have change to *-e-* : *baḷẽ* (**balaya-*) *vaḷẽ* (*valaya-*) and generally *-ẽ* < **-aẙam* <*-akam.*

d) With the loss of PI-A. or MI-A. *-y-* an intervocal *-v-* has developed : s. gs. x. nx. gx. *rāv*^{u} (*rájan-*) in *rāv*^{u}*ḷār*, etc. ; gx. *kāv*^{a}*ḷo* (*kāka-*) a crow ; *sāvḷi* (*chāyā*) shadow.

§ 116 (a) Intervocalic *-v-* (whether PI-A. or MI-A.) remained : s. gs. *navva*, x. gx. nx. *ṇōv* (*náva-*) nine ; s. gs. *ṇavvī̃*, x. gx. nx. *ṇōi* (*navati-*) ninety ; s. gs. *dēvu* (*deváḥ*) a god, gx. nx. x. *dēv.*

(b) In the group *-ava-* the change to *-o-* had already been effected in MI-A. Thus PI-A. *bhávati* > Pā. *bhoti*, Ś. *bhodi*, M. *hoï*, etc. This change is then transmitted to NI-A, and this *-o-* converges with PI-A *-o-*.

-r-, *-l-*

§ 117. Intervocalic *-r-* remains, but *-l-* becomes *-ḷ-*.

-r-: s. gs. *ghara*, x. gx. nx. *ghor* (MI-A. *ghara-*) house ; s. gs. *kāmāru* (*karma-kāra-*) iron-smith ; *mār*^{a}*tā* (*mārayati*) strikes, beats ; s. gs. *mā̆jjara*, x. gx. nx. *mā̆jor* (*mārjāra-*) a cat ; *sūru* (*surā*) intoxicating liquor ; *bhõvro* (*bhramaraka-*) a bumble bee.

-l-: s. gs. *māḷo* (MI-A. *mālāo*) garlands ; *tāḷu* (*tálu-*) palate ; *kāḷu* (*kālá-*) time ; *phaḷa*, x. gx. nx. *foḷ* (*phálam*) fruit ; *bhoḷo* (*bahulaka-*) credulous, s. gs. *kaḷ*^{a}*tā* (√*kal-*) knows ; *paḷaytā* (*pralokayati*) sees ; *meḷtā* (*melayati*) gets, meets ; *ǰaḷtā* (*jválati*) burns.

-ś-, *-ṣ-*, *-s-*

§ 118. *-ś-*, *-ṣ-* and *-s-* of PI-A. became *-s-* in almost all MI-A. languages with the exception of Māgadhī, and remain as *-s-* in Koṅkaṇī except when in contact with ī̆, ĕ where they become *-ś-*.

-ś-: s. gs. *pāsu* (*pā́śa-*) net, loop ; *nāsayta* (*nāśáyati*) causes to curdle ; s, gs. *lasūṇa*, x. gx. nx. *lōsuṇ* (*laśuna-*) garlic ; *pisso*, x. gx. nx. *pīso* (*piśāca-*) but *piśśī* ; s. gs. *kōsu* (*krośa-*).

-ṣ-: s. gs. *vīsu* (*viṣa-*) poison ; *kastā* (*kṛṣáti*) tills ; *basavu* (*vṛṣabhá-*) bull ; *bhāsa* (*bhāṣā*) language ; *varasa* (*varṣá-* > * *var^a ṣa-*) year.

-s-: s. gs. *kāppūsu*, x. gx. nx. *kāpus* (*karpāsa-*) cotton ; *ghāsu* (*grāsa-*, *ghāsá-*) a mouthful ; s. gs. *māsu* (*mā́sa-*) month ; *hās^a tā* (*hasati*) laughs ; *vāsu* (*vāsa-*) habitation ; n. gs. *bhās^a tā* (*bhā́sati*) appears ; *pasratā* (*pra-sarati*) spreads.

-h-

§ 119. Intervocalic *-h-* of PI-A. converges with MI-A. *-h-* from aspirated stops. In Konkaṇī an aspirate is not tolerated in the interior of a word ; it is either thrown back to the initial syllable or is lost. It can only be seen in learned borrowings in any other position.

1° The aspirate is thrown back on the initial syllable :—

s. gs. *bhāira*, x. gx. nx. *bhāir* (*bāhira-*) outside ;

s. gs. *bhō*, x. gx. nx. g. *bhōu* (*bahú-*) much ; s. gs. *mhōvu*, x. gx. nx. *mhōu* (*mádhu-*) meed ;

x. gx. nx. *ghōu* husband (*Ḍhakkī. goha-*) ;

s. gs. *dhuvva* (*duhitṛ* + *dhītá-*) daughter.

s. gs. *hāḍ^a tā* (*āhṛta-*: *āhaḍa-*) brings.

2° The aspiration is lost :

s. gs. *kāṇi* (*kathānikā* : *kahāṇiā*) story ; *jūyi* (*yūthikā*) a creeper.

CONSONANTS IN CONTACT.

§ 120 When two or more consonants came together in PI-A. a gradual assimilation affected these groups in MI-A, resulting in a system of double consonants (simple and aspirate), or a combination of nasal + consonants. This process has already been realized by the time of Aśoka's inscriptions with certain exceptions in the case of groups containing a sibilant or *r* in some dialects. Now as consonants are characterised by the two processes of implosion and explosion, [1]

[1] These two elements exist only for the stops ; for the remaining consonants there is only the explosive element co-existent with the closure, so that in the case of *-n-* or *-s-* or *-r-* we cannot separate the elements *-*n*1 or *n_2-, etc. Here we should call them explosive consonants only.

the -*k*- of *aka* is pronounced as -*a*+k_1 + k_2 + *a*- where k_1 represents implosion and k_2 the explosion characterising -*k*-. The explosive element is dominant only when in combination with a vowel. From this it follows that in a group like vowel +*kt* + vowel, we have vowel +k_1+[k_2+t_1]+t_2+ vowel, where k_2 and t_1 cannot exist, since t_1 can only follow a vowel sound and k_2 can be followed only by a vowel ; thus vowel + *kt* +vowel > vowel+k_1 +t_2+vowel. In these groups the explosive consonant absorbed the implosive, and thus-*kt*- > -*tt*- as in s. gs. *mōtī* < PI-A. *mauktikam* : MI-A. *mottiaṁ* a pearl. Where both sounds were explosive, that having the greater degree of closure became the dominant, so that in groups like stop + *r* or stop + nasal the resultant was a double stop. In the case of a sibilant, it imparted aspiration to the group while being absorbed.

In a few cases the more open of the two explosive consonants exercised a certain influence in assimilating the more closed one; this was particularly seen when the more open one was *y*, *s* or *ṣ* or *v* and the more closed or dominant one was a dental. Thus dental + *y* or dental + *s* > double palatal ; *kṣ* has become *cch* , *jjh* or even *ggh* [1] ; dental + *v* or *m* > double labial in some dialects (but double dental normally in the others).

In the group -*hy*- or -*ry*- the *y* become *j* and so the dominant consonant. Only in Māgadhī did it remain as *y*.

These double consonants generally remained unchanged for a a long time in MI-A. In Koṅkaṇī, however, with the exception of s. [2] and to a certain extent gs., the double stops have been simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

The consonants in contact may be divided into a number of cases.

1° Stop + stop [*a*) homorganic ; *b*) heterorganic].
2° Groups with a nasal.
3° Groups with *y*.
4° Groups with *r*.
5° Groups with *l*.
6° Groups with *v*.
& 7° Groups with a sibilant.

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1 See JBORS. XXIII, Part (i) pp. 82-96 on *Sanskrit kṣ in Pāli*,

2 See § 63 above.

1° Stop + Stop

§ 121. **Homorganic :**

-kk-: *cikkaṇa* sticky (*cikkana-*) ; *cikkōḷu* shift above (*cikkala-*) mud.

-kkh-: ?

-gg-: *guggu!u* (*gúggulu-*) insense.

-ggh-: ?

-cc-: *ũca* (*ucca-*) high ; s. gs. *uccāru* (*uccāra-*) pronunciation.

-jj-: s. gs, *lāja*, x. gx. nx. g. *lāj* (*lajjā*) shame ; *kā̃jjaḷa* (*kajjala-*) lamp black ; *bhũ̃jtā* (*bhr̥jjáti*).

-jjh-: ?

-ṭṭ-: *pāṭu*, *pāṭṭo* (*paṭṭa-*) a strip of cloth, belt. *kūṭa* (*kuṭṭa-*) ; *bhaṭṭu* (*bhaṭṭa-*).

-ṭṭh-: ?

-ḍḍ-: *uḍ*ᵃ*tā* (*uḍḍayatie*) jumps ; *hāḍa* (*haḍḍa-*) bone ; *āḍa* obstruction (*aḍḍa-*).

-ḍḍh-: ?

-tt-: s. gs. *uttara*, x. gx. nx. *utor* (*uttara-*) reply ; s. gs. *pāttaḷa*, x. gx. nx. *pātoḷ* (*pattala-*) thin.

-tth-: ?

-dd-: ?

-ddh-: s. gs. *bud·vaṁtu* (*buddhi-*°) wise, intelligent ;

-pp-: s. gs. *piṁpaḷ* (*pippala-*).

-pph-: ?

§ 122. Heterorganic : here the first stop is assimilated to the second ; thus in the order of the second stop we have :

-ṭk-: MI-A. *-kk-* > K. *-kk-* or *-k-* ; s. gs. *sakko* the sixth in cards (*saṭka-*).

-tk- > *-kk-*: s. gs. *ukaḷta* (*ut* + *kal* or *kar-*) lifts.

-tkh- > *-kkh-* :?

-ḍg- > *-gg-*: ?

-dg- > *-gg-*: s. gs. *mūgu* (*mudgá-*).

-dgh- > *-ggh-*: *ughaḍ-* (*udghāṭa-*).

-kt- > *-tt-*: s. *bhāta*, x. gx. nx. g. *bhāt* (*bhaktá-*) rice ; *mōtī̃* (*mauktika-*).

-pt- > *-tt-*: s. gs. *sāta*, x. gx. nx. g. *sāt* (*saptá-*) seven ;

-kth- > *-tth-* : ?

-bd- > *-dd-*: x. gx. nx. *sād* (*śábda-*) noise, sound.

-gdh- > *-ddh-*: s. gs. *dūda*, x. gx. nx. g. *dūd* (*dugdhá-*) milk. In the example of PI-A. *dagdhá-*: MI-A. *daddha-*, besides PI-A. *dahati*: MI-A. *dahati*, the cerebralization has survived in Koṅkaṇī *dāḍel* burnt oil.

-bdh- > *-ddh-*: ?

-tp- > *-pp-*: s. gs. *ub̆jatā* < * *up^a^jatā* (*utpadyate*) is born.

-tph- > *-pph-*: ?

-db- > *-bb-*: ?

-dbh- > *-bbh-*: x. gx. nx. *ubho* (*udbhāta-*).

2° GROUPS WITH A NASAL

§ 123. Stop + nasal :

(a) In the group guttural + *n* or *m* the nasal is assimilated.

-kn- > *-kk-*: s. gs. *mok-ḷo* (**muk-na-*) free.

-gn- > *-gg-*: s. gs. *nāgḍo* (*nagná->* *nagga-*) naked ; *bhāgtā* (*bhagná-*: *bhagga-*) wastes away ; x. gx. nx. g. *āg* (*agní-*) fire ; *lāgta* (*lagná-*: *lagga-*) touches.

-km- > *-kk-*: s. gs. *rŏkka* (*raukma-*) cash [cf. Kanarese *rŏkka-*]

-gm- > *-gg-*: ?

(b) In the group *jñ* the *j* was assimilated ; the resulting *ññ* > *ṇṇ* or *nn* > *ṇ* [1] or *n*: s. gs. *rāṇi* (*rā́jñī*) a queen ; *ǰānvē* (*yajñopavītám*) the sacred thread ; *āṇa* (*ājñā*) command. The cerebral *ṇ* here can be explained by *svara-bhakti* : *rāṇī* < * *rāaṇī* < * *rāj^a^nī* < PI-A. *rā́jñī* ; so also *āṇa* < * *ā-aṇā* < * *ā-j^a^nā* < PI-A. *ājñā*.

(c) *-tn-* > *-tt-*: s. gs. *sav^a^ti* (*sapátnī*) co-wife. For this word there is also a form in *-kk-* in MI-A. [1] giving a few NI-A. forms [2].

- dn-* > *-dd-*: this change is already realised in PI-A. *bhinná-* < * *bhid-na*, etc ; cf. *chinná-*, *ánna-*and MI-A. *ruṇṇa-* (<*rud--na-*).

-pn- > *-pp-*: ?

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[1] The cerebral *-ṇ-* can also go back to MI-A. *-ṇ-* already simplified from OMI-A. *-ṇṇ-* ; this is attested to especially in the case of MI-A. *āṇā* < PI-A. *ājñā*.

[2] *Le Monde Oriental* vol. 26-27, p. 164, f. n. 2.

(*To be continued*)

AUTHORS OF THE INDUS CULTURE

BY

A. D. PUSALKER, M. A., LL. B.

In sharp contrast to the practical unanimity as regards the date of the Indus Civilization, there is a wide divergence of opinion among scholars and archaeologists as to its authors—the race of the Indus Valley people. Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha on examining the available skeletal material comprising of 26 skeletons pronounce that the human remains disclose four ethnic types, viz., Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian and the Alpine, there being six skulls of the Mediterranean race, one each of the Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock and the Alpine, and three of the Proto-Australoid type.[1] The skulls are not a homogeneous series, pointing to the heterogeneous character of the population at Mohenjo-Daro. Statuary material is meagre, only four human heads being found; and "it would be preposterous to place reliance on this type of evidence".[2] According to Dr. Wüst, there are four possibilities: the inhabitants were either (i) Aryans, (ii) pre-Aryan Dravidas, (iii) related to Sumer or Elam, or (iv) an autochthonous unknown people.[3]

Dravidians-Brahuis: Among the scholars ascribing the authorship of the Indus Civilization to various races, there is a large majority of those putting forth the claim of the Dravidians.[4]

1 MIC (Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization. Sir J. Marshall Chap. XXX, pp. 599-648. P. 606 (12 skulls selected that were sufficiently well preserved.) pp. 638-44. (conclusions).

2 Kohli, Indus Val. Civ. p. 34 Also, MIC, 362. (Dr. Mackay.)

3 ZDMG, 1927, pp. 259-277.

4 cf. Dr. Thomas, JRAS, 1932, 459.; Zentler and Dupont, Indian Art and Letters, 6, 151-153 : Dr. Chatterji, MR (Mod. Review), Dec. 1924, 678-9 ; R. S. V. Iyer, QJMS (Quart. Journ. Mythic Soc), 19, 171-179; 294-313. T. K. K. Menon, Prabuddha Bharata, 1934, 348-51. Rawlinson, AP (Aryan Path), 1934, 84. Padmanabhayya, JOR (Journ. of Or Res.), 5, 55-67 ; 80-100; propounds that the Bhṛgus were a Dravidian race, the connecting link between the Semitic and the Aryan element. Impliedly by G. Yazdani, Proc. Or. Conf., Baroda, 638., and, Langdon, by taking the language as 'Dravidian'.

Mr. R. D. Banerji, the discoverer, was the first to pronounce that opinion,[1] and at one time Sir John Marshall also supported the view.[2] It is said that the similarities between the pottery, beads and necklaces as also between the marks on the South Indian pottery and the Indus Script, point to the Dravidian origin of the Indus Civilization.

Before considering the claim of the Dravidians, it would be better to note, in brief, the origin of the Dravidians about which there has been quite an amount of speculation.[3] They have been declared to be autochthonous in India; they have been variously connected with the 'Turanians' of Northern and Central Asia, Mongolians, Egyptians, Australian savages, etc. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar even goes to the length of arguing that Ārya and Draviḍa do not indicate any racial difference, both being of the same stock.[4] I, however, prefer to hold the Dravidians as the original inhabitants of South India, especially as the theory is supported by Dr. Hall[5] and Sir Herbert Risley[6] on ethnological grounds. Thus, Mr. Hornell's[7] theory of the migration of the Dravidians from the Mediterranean after settling in Mesopotamia for some time is not justifiable, the more so as the Brahui language has not conclusively been proved to have been due to the presence of the Dravidians in Baluchistan; possibly the linguistic affinities, as suggested by Prof. Rangacharya, are the result of the mutual intercourse between the Brahuis and the Dravidians during the stay of the latter in the trans-Vindhyan region.[8]

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1 MR, Dec. 1924, 674.

2 cf. Mem. Arch. Surv. India, 31, 14. Sir John Marshall is now against ascribing the authorship to any particular people in the present state of our knowledge (MIC, p. 109). Similarly, Dr. Keith and Dr Winternitz, in their letters to me.

3 Details and bibliography in 'Pre-Musalman India' pp. 66–106.

4 JOR, 3, 187-197; also, V. Narayanan in 'Triveni' (MR, Apr. 1931,473); Sundar Ram Iyer (Pre-Mus. India. pp. 210-11) both Aryans and Dravidians were 'Bharatas'.

5 Ancient Hist. of the Near East, pp. 171-184.

6 Imp. Gaz. Vol. 1. Dr. Das (Ṛgvedic India, p. 110) also favours the same view.

7 The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs, (Mem. As. Soc. Beng. vil. 13) pp. 225–226.

8 Pre-Mus. India, p. 78.

The theory that the Dravidian group of languages is completely independent of Sanskrit, as propounded by Bishop Caldwell has been disputed of late by Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar and others,[1] casting a serious doubt on the antiquity and independence of the Dravidian Culture, which, according to some, is due to its contact with the Aryans.[2] Coming to anthropology from philology, we find that the Dravidian-speaking peoples, leaving aside the Brahuis, present at least three distinct racial elements (viz. Vedda-Australoid, Mediterranean, and Alpine).[3] As to the racial type of the ancient Dravidians we know next to nothing;[4] the modern Dravidians cannot be said to be the same as their ancestors 5000 years ago. "There is no evidence either somatic or archaeological for the view that has lately become fashionable in India and which seeks to make the Dravidian man responsible for the Indus Civilization."[5] Again, "we have absolutely nothing to show whether the Dravidians were already settled in India when the Aryans came in. To bring them into connexion with the Indus Civilization can never be more than mere guess".[6]

The similarities that have been taken to prove the Dravidian origin of the Indus Civilization can easily be explained as being due to the influence of the Indus Valley (whoever the authors may have been), and it is well known that the latter had trade relations with the South.[7] There is also no definite evidence in support of the Brahui claim,[8] who by the way, have turned out to be completely Iranian, though they still speak the Dravidian tongue.[9]

Kolarians: The Kolarians also, according to some, share with the Dravidians the honour of being the originators of the Indus

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1 cf. Pre-Mus. India, pp. 157-58. Srikantha Sastri, QJMS, 1934, pp. 216-28, gives a list of words showing Sumerian affinities with Sanskrit and Dravidian. Mr. Thyagaraju, QJMS, 1932, 222-28, gives words showing Sumero-Dravidian affinities.

2 Das, Ṛgvedic India, pp. 104, 112; V. Narayanan (f. n. 4 p. 386).

3 Dr. Guha, Presidential Address at Anthropology Section, 15th. Indian Science Congress:—MR, Aug. 1928, pp. 131-44 at page 135.

4 cf. Marshall, MIC, p. 109.

5 Dr. Guha, MR, Aug. 1928, p. 137.

6 Dr. Sten Konow, letter dated 16-6-34.

7 cf. MIC, pp. 29-30, 674.

8 Dr. Mackay, JRSA (Journ. Roy. Soc. Arts), 82, p. 213.

9 Sita Ram Kohli, The Indus Valley Civ., Lahore, 1934, p. 35.

Civilization.[1] There is nothing to establish their connexion with the Indus Valley origins: they were autochthonous in the Southern India and their culture is due to their contact with the Aryans.[2]

Sumerians: The Sumerians, who are credited by a certain section with being the authors of the Indus Civilization[3], are said to have been the Dravidians from South India.[4] In this connection, we may note that the exotic nature of the Sumerians in Mesopotamia is practically accepted by all.[5] Dr. Waddell takes the Sumerians to be Aryans, and describes the Indus Civilization as Indo-Sumerian; but he places Vedas as late as 600 B. C.[6] Mr. Apte, following the Arctic Home theory of Tilak, states that the Sumerians were a branch of the Aryans which migrated to Mesopotamia.[7] According to Prof. G. Elliot Smith they were Mediterraneans,[8] while Dr. Chatterji says that the Sumerians "are of unknown origin".[9] Prof. Rangacharya invites attention to (i) the use of cotton which they named 'Sindhu', (ii) the use of Indian materials for beads in Mesopotamia and (iii) the Mesopotamian pottery, which clearly show the Indian origin of the Mesopotamian Culture.[10] There is a difference of opinion among competent scholars as to the racial type of the Sumerians: Sir Arthur Keith[11] pronounces them to be dolicocephalic, while according to Dr. Langdon[12] the dolicocephalic skulls found at Kish were Semitic and the brachycephalic skulls were Sumerian. Thus, as in the case of the Dravidians we are equally uncertain about the racial type of the Sumerians. However it seems fairly certain that the Sumerians were probably a mixed race of

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1 Dr. De, Dacca Uuiv. Journ. 10, 1934. Dr. Chatterji, Journal for Indonesian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, Vol. 68, pp. 65-91 (on p, 89).

2 cf. Dr. Das, Ṛgvedic India.

3 V. Gordon Childe, Waddell, Vaidyanath Iyer, etc.

4 Hall, op. cit, 173-74.

5 Frankfort, Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem, pp. 40-47; Speiser, Mesopotamian Origins, p. 81, and the following references.

6 Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered.

7 Hindī Sumerī Sanskṛti. Poona, 1928, pp. 20, 21, 103.

8 Migration of the Early Culture. cf. Cam. Hist. Ind. 1, 43,

9 MR, Dec. 1924, 676.

10 Pre-Musalman India, 1, pp. 189-90.

11 Al. ' Ubaid, Vol. i, pp. 216-40.

12 Kish, pp. 59-64.

the Aryans and Dravidians, and that they migrated from the Indus Valley.[1]

Panis: Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda puts forward the claim of the Panis,[2] the avaricious merchants bent upon amassing wealth, through fair or foul means, mentioned in the Rgveda. It is not proved that the Panis were non-Aryans, who, I think, belonged to the Aryan group, but were hated on account of their greedy nature. These Panis were the adventurous merchants and mariners who visited the distant lands through sea-going ships and helped much in the spread of the Aryan Culture. They later on became known as the Phœnicians after they were settled in Syria on the eastern colony of the Mediterranean. These Panis most probably did the function of the 'travelling guilds' that helped the spread of the culture in ancient times, according to Mr. Glanville.[3]

Asuras: whose cause has been championed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri,[4] were neither pre-Aryan as the Civilization is alleged to be, nor non-Aryan, since they were a sect of the Aryans themselves. I do not share Dr. Konow's view that the Asuras were 'no human beings'.[5] The Asuras were the fore-runners of the Iranians who migrated there from the Indus Valley owing to religious differences with the Vedic Aryans.

Vāhīkas: have recently found an advocate in Prof. Shembavnekar.[6] Assuming all the arguments advanced in support of the Vāhīka theory:— i. e. 'the prominent frontal bones' of the Vāhīkas (p. 478.); much advanced pottery works (p. 480); a large number of razors (p. 480) and nude female forms (p. 481)

1 Dr. Woolley writes in his letter dated 9-8-34 that 'the Mohenjo-Daro civilization is certainly not Sumerian in spite of certain points of contact' Also, Dr. Mackay: "it would be unsafe to use the term 'Indo-Sumerian' as has been done in the past". JRSA, 1934, 213. Similarly, Prof. Sayce, Ill. Lond. News, Sept 27, 1924: cf. Ann. Bibliogr. Ind. Arch., I, 5, 34.

2 Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., 31, 5,

3 Lecture on "The Eastern Origin of Western Civilization" at the University College, London.—Times of India. 20-2-1934.

4 Asura India, also the articles in Journ. Bihar & Orissa Res. Soc. 1927, and MR, Jan. 1926, 21-24.

5 Letter dated 16-6-34. Dr. Konow would call the bearers of the Indus civ. 'Dasyus' but adds that 'no ethnic inference can be drawn from it'.

6 Ind. Hist. Quart. 1936, pp. 477-484.

among the Mohenjo-Daro finds; and acceptance of the traditional date of the Mahābhārata war :—to be valid, they do not prove Vāhīkas to be the Indus Valley race. The theory further requires a hypothetical upheaval-physical or political-at a particular era for its tenability (p. 483), though no such upheaval has been shown to have taken place. Doctors Sewell and Guha have found four different ethnic types among the skulls unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. The anthropologists show no preference and do not pronounce any particular physiognomical characteristic as the racial mark of the Indus people. The cosmopolitan nature of such a large trading centre that Mohenjo-Daro was in ancient times, precludes the ascription of its authorship to any particular racial characteristic. [1]

Now, the chapters relating to the Madras, the Vāhīkas, and the Araṭṭas, as stated by Prof. Shembavnekar, are a lengthy diatribe and vituperations against the subjects of Śalya; and hence are not to be taken at their face value. The veteran Maratha Sanskritist, Bhāratācārya C. V. Vaidya says that the whole account is much exaggerated, meaning simply that the *Aryans* in the Punjab were less civilised than the Madhyadeśa, and were of impure and immoral conduct.[2] Śalya's reply that there were black sheep in every fold[3] shows that much importance was not to be attached to the statements of Karṇa. Further, the whole of Karṇa's speech is based on hearsay.[4] It is, again, nowhere stated that the Madras or the Vāhīkas were non-Aryans. [5]

To turn to the other grounds, the find of numerous and variously shaped razors only proves, as correctly stated by Dr.

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1 It is interesting to note in this connection that many of the houses at Mohenjo-Daro were obviously built for short people, ; there are low beamholes and narrow doorways (Dr. Mackay, The Indus Civ. p. 202). Whereas the Vāhīkas were stout people.

2 Upasaṁhāra of Mahābhārata, p. 147. also pp. 146, 148, 155, 227 and 236. It appears that the chapters contain later additions and the state of society depicted relates to the date of Mbh (3rd Cent. B. C.) as distinct from the date of the Bhārata war (cf. op. cit. p. 185). The chap. (8. 44) contains one Kūṭa śloka (v. 8) cf. also- Vaidya. Mbh. A Criticism, p. 192.

3 Mbh. 8. 45, 42-46.

4 Mbh. 8. 44 vv. 3-5, 24-25, 35, 38-39 ; 8, 45. vv. 2, 10.

5 Vaidya. Mbh. Upasaṁ, pp. 146, 147, 155, &c.

Mackay, that "the shaving of the face, if not the body, was extensively practised";[1] it does not show that "the barber must have been regarded as a very useful member of society, and his profession was not at all undignified".[2] Dr. Mackay refers only to 'pottery toys',[3] which certainly does not warrant the inference that earthen pots were used for serving food.[4] As regards Mother Goddess, I have elsewhere shown that the religion of the Indus Valley people was Vedic Aryan.[5]

The Mahābhārata evidence can, at the most be stretched to mean that at the time of the Indus Culture, Vāhīkas formed a portion of the populace; it yields nothing more of any value.

Dāsas. Dasyus. Nāgas: We know absolutely nothing as to the ethnic type of the Dāsas, Dasyus, and Nāgas, nor is there any evidence as to their authorship of the Indus Civilization, their claims being put forth on the assumption of the pre-Aryan nature of the Indus Civilization.[6]

Aryans: Lastly we come to the consideration of the Aryan origin of the Indus civilization. Though we encounter the same difficulty here as to the racial type of the Aryans, it is suggested that they were probably a mixture of the Nordics, the Mediterraneans and the Alpines,[7] and this does not militate against their being the progenitors of the Indus civilization if other considerations favour the ascription. Unfortunately, the supporters championing the cause of the Aryans are in a glorious minority.[8] I have shown that the period of the Vedas is much prior to that generally assigned to them, and that the

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1 JRSA, 82, 221; Dr. Frankfort (Arch. & Sumerian Prob. p. 29) states that the upper lip was clean shaved, not merely close cropped as mentioned by Dr. Mackay (MIC, p. 362).

2 Ind. Hist. Qu., 12, 480.

3 JRSA, 82, 217,

4 Ind. Hist. Qu. 12, 480.

5 MR, Dec. 1936, 697-703.

6 Rawlinson, AP. 1934, 84-5; Prof. Venkatesvara (AP, 34, 86-90) ably controverts this view. cf. H. Bruce Hannah, (Jour. Bihar and Orissa Res. Soc. 1925). Dasyus or Dahyus.

7 cf. S. K. Aiyangar, Hindu Ill. Weekly, Nov. 12, 1933, p. 8. The Aryans might probably have represented a different racial type.

8 Dr. Law, Ind. Hist. Qu., 1932, 121-164, Prof. Venkatesvara, AP. 1934, 86-90; Mysore Univ. Jnl, 1930. Dr. Sarup, Gaṅgā, 1933. 62-69. Dikshitar, Culture of the Indus Valley, Madras. 1933. Das, Ṛgvedic India.

religion of the Indus people represents a later phase of the Ṛgvedic culture.[1] Sir John Marshall has advanced the following reasons to prove that the Vedic culture is quite distinct from that of the Indus Valley, and therefore the Vedic Aryans cannot be taken to be the authors of the Indus civilization.[2]

(i) The Vedic Aryans were a partly pastoral partly agricultural people, having no knowledge of the amenities of city life and whose homes were mere structures of bamboo, while the domestic and civic architecture at Mohenjo-Daro tells quite a different tale. (ii) The metals used by the Indo-Aryans were gold and copper or bronze, silver and iron coming later. Among the Indus people the neolithic practice of using stone utensils was continued ; silver was commoner than gold, and iron was not discovered at all. (iii) The Indo-Aryans wore the helmet and defensive armour which were unknown to the Indus people. (iv) The Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters having an aversion to fish, while the latter was an ordinary article of food of the Indus people. (v) The horse which played an important part with the Indo-Aryans was unknown to the Indus people. The tiger and elephant were familiar among the Indus people, while there is no mention of the tiger in the Vedas, and the elephant is but little known. (vi) The Vedic Aryans revered the cow while the Indus people replaced it by the bull. (vii) Aniconism is the normal feature of the Vedic religion while iconism is in evidence everywhere at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. (viii) The cults of the Mother-Goddess and Śiva have no place in the Vedic pantheon where the female principle is almost wholly subordinate to the male, whereas both the cults are in the forefront in the Indus Valley and the female principle is equally revered. (ix) Fire (Agni) is a very prominent deity in the Vedas while Agni Kuṇḍa which should be found in every Aryan house is lacking in the houses at Mohenjo-Daro. (x) Phallic worship is abhorrent to the Indo-Aryans, but was practised by the Indus people.[3]

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1 MR, Dec. 1936, 697–703.

2 MIC. pp. 110–112.

3 For much of the material employed in attempting a reply to the above objections, I am indebted to Dr. Law, Ind. Hist. Qu. 1932, pp. 155-164, though at places I differ from him. I have indicated at other places the sources of my statements.

Before examining these points, it should be stated that the information gathered from the Vedas is not absolutely exhaustive; and that the finds from one or two places when so many prehistoric sites await excavation cannot be taken to supply in every minute detail the civilization of the time. Hence, the conclusions can at best be approximations to truth. Out of the points mentioned above, Nos. (vii), (viii), and (x) have been dealt with elsewhere.[1]

Re: (ix) Agnikuṇḍa: The Ṛgveda does not furnish any evidence as to there being an Agnikuṇḍa in every house. This may have been a late development. Re: (v)-(vi) Animals: That the Indus people knew the horse is proved by the find of a model horse,[2] and future excavations may similarly bring express portrayals of the cow. That the bull was venerated by the Indo-Aryans would appear from Dr. Macdonell's Vedic Mythology (p. 150), and the extracts given by Mr. Sastri.[3] The representations of the tiger on the seals may well be those of a hyena (sālāvṛka) to which there are references in the Ṛgveda. Assuming the figure to be of a tiger, the silence of the Ṛgveda is quite explicable as being due to the want of a necessity to refer to the animal. Or, probably the Vedic Aryans came to know of the 'tiger' at the time of Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Atharva Veda, thus showing that the Indus Culture was a successor of the Ṛgvedic Culture.[4] That the Vedic Aryans were familiar with the elephant would be evident from the mention of 'vāraṇa' and 'hastin' in the Ṛgveda,[5] while Dr. Mackay states that "possibly the elephant was not so well known to the inhabitants of Mohenjo-Daro as was thought at first."[6] Re. (iv) Fish-eating. This is merely an argumentum ex silentio, and there is no evidence in the Ṛgveda to the aversion of the Vedic Aryans to fish-eating, which might well have formed an article of their

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1 MR. Dec. 1936, 697-703.

2 Arch. Sur. Ind. Ann. Rep., 1928-29, p. 74, pl. xxviii, c. also; Bherumal, Mohenjo-Daro p. 91; S. Shastri, Qu. J. Myth. So 1934, 225.

3 Qu. J. Myth. So., 1934, 224-5.

4 cf. Venkatesvara, AP, 1934, 89. Dikshitar, The Culture of the Indus Valley, p. 6.

5 Law, Ind. Hist. Qu., 1932, pp. 160-61.

6 MIC, p. 388.

diet. Re. (iii) Weapons: If the defensive armours of the Indus people were of leather as among the Indo-Aryans, there is no wonder that no specimen is found owing to the salty soil. If, however, the helmets and armours be of metal, further excavations may reveal them. Re. (ii) Metals: There are references to stone utensils and implements in the Ṛgveda, such as the 'upara', 'dṛṣad', 'ulūkhala', which are of stone even to this day in India. And the absence of iron in both the cultures points to the similarity between the two. Re. (i) Cities and Buildings: 'Pur' in the Ṛgveda has been interpreted by Pischel and Geldner to refer to the fortified cities.[1] Further, it is inconsistent to interpret the word 'Pur' from the Ṛgveda as meaning 'castles or forts' in the case of Dāsas, and 'simple earth-works' in the case of Vedic Aryans.[2] Dr. Acharya, though placing the Indus Culture long before the Vedic period, states that "the Vedic people were not ignorant of stone forts, walled cities, stone houses and brick edifices."[3] In view of the antiquity of the Ṛgveda, it is not strange if it shows a primitive culture as compared to that at Mohenjo-Daro.

Thus it would be found that there is nothing in the Vedic civilization that speaks against ascribing the authorship of the Indus civilization to the Vedic Aryans. It is argued that the exclusion of the Sindhu-Sauvīra from the region of the Āryas in the later Sūtras shows that the Indus Valley was inhabited by the non-Aryans.[4] Ṛgveda mentions fights in the Indus Valley. It may have been that some foreign element wrested the Indus Colony for a time from the Vedic Aryans in the post-Vedic period, and hence the Gṛhya Sūtras excluded the Sindhu-Sauvīra.

The finds at Mohenjo-Daro belong to the chalcolithic age, while the Ṛgveda indicates the use of bone and stone implements. The bangles or bracelets found in large numbers at Mohenjo-Daro are first mentioned in the Atharva Veda as the

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1 Law. Ind. Hist. Qu., 1932, pp. 156-58.

2 MIC, preface; and p. 109.

3 MR, Sept. 1934, pp. 281-287, at p, 281. Description of the early Hindu architecture given in the article is well worth a comparison with the architecture at Mohenjo-Daro.

4 Chatterji, MR, Mar. 1925, p. 357. Chanda, Mem. Arch. Surv. India.

indispensable items of the women's jewellery.[1] Dr. Sarup refers to the knowledge of writing displayed by the citizens of Mohenjo-Daro by their seals, which shows a later phase than the Ṛgvedic Age when writing was not known.[2]

We find that there is nothing inconsistent in calling the Vedic Aryans the authors of the Indus Civilization, or styling the civilization as 'Vedic' or 'Aryan'. Dr. Jacobi would place the Ṛgveda at least in 5000 B. C. (a modest estimate), which accords well with the nature of the Civilization we find at Mohenjo-Daro, which is assigned 3250-2750 B. C.

1 Venkatesvara, AP. 1934, pp. 88-89. This article refers to other particulars also which go to prove that the Indus Culture represents a later Vedic Age as revealed by the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda, Taittirīya Saṁhitā, etc. Cf. also AP. 1930, pp. 11-15.

2 Gaṅgā 1933, pp. 68-69. contra, Sastri, Qu. J. Myth. Soc., 1934, 226, says that expressions like 'aṣṭakarṇī gauḥ' indicate that some kind of markings were known to the Vedic people. He also finds similarity between the Indus Valley chariots and those described in the Ṛgveda (I. 166. 9). ib. p. 224. Mr. V. R. Karandikar holds. that 'Lekhas' among the Vedic Aryans knew writing. By describing the Indus Culture as 'Vedic' we do not mean to exclude the possibility of the Aryans having taken something from the other cultures; cf. Dr. Coomarswamy, Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 8.

MISCELLANEA

THE ORIGINAL CAPITAL OF THE PRATIHĀRAS OF KANAUJ

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Perhaps no verse has been discussed more by historians than the following from Jinasena's *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* :—

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां
पान्तीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादि [घि] राजे परां
सौर्या (रा) णामधिमण्डले (लं) जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Drs. Bhandarkar, Majumdar, and Altekar construe its third line to mean that Vatsarāja was the ruler of Avanti. [1] The first two further aver that the Pratihāras ruled at Ujjayinī and not Bhilmāl before they transferred their capital to Kanauj, and consider their conclusion confirmed by the following extracts from two important Rāṣṭrakūṭa records :—

(a) हिरण्यगर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जय (यि) न्यां यदासितं ।
प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥

(Sanjan Plates, EI. XVIII, 243)

(b) दत्तं येनोज्जयिन्यामपि नृपतिमहादानमाश्चर्यभूतम्

(Daśāvatāra cave inscription)

The verse from the Sanjan plate is regarded as a positive proof of Pratihāra rule at Ujjayinī, and the line from the Daśāvatāra inscription is regarded as a further, though not very necessary, piece of evidence to establish the same conclusion.

It must be admitted that at first sight their view seems plausible enough. But it is unfortunately vitiated by a number of serious flaws overlooked by these learned writers. In the first place, if Vatsarāja and Avantipati were identical, there would be no need to use the two words भूभृत् and नृप in juxtaposition. That

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[1] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, pp. 238-9 and 109. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times p. 55.

Jinasena, the author of the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* has so used them shows clearly that he regarded the two as different persons.[1] Secondly, the extracts from the Daśāvatāra cave inscription and the Sanjan plates merely state that Dantidurga held a ceremony called Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjayinī, and that it was attended among others by a certain *Gurjareśa*. Now, if Ujjayinī is to be regarded as the capital of this *Gurjareśa* on their basis, we might as well feel justified in concluding that it was also the capital of all the other kings who attended the ceremony. What applies to the *Gurjareśa* applies equally to the others too. He acted as a *pratihāra*, and so did the other kings also. Thirdly, the word *Gurjareśa* means most probably not the lord of the Gurjara tribe, but the province called Gurjaratrā. It is so used more than once by Hemacandra in his *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*. He calls the inhabitants of Gujerat Gurjaras, and their king *Gurjarendra* or *Gurjareśvara*. The very use of this word in the Sanjan plates should therefore be proof enough of the fact that this *Gurjareśa* was the lord of Gujerat and not Malwa. Fourthly, due attention has not been given to reasons proving that Malwa was not under the Pratihāras at least in the time of Vatsarāja. The Baroda grant of Karka states that he was made a door-bolt to protect Malwa against the attacks of the *Gurjareśa* who had become haughty on account of having defeated the ruler of Gauḍa and Vaṅga. According to the Waṇī and Radhanpur plates this *Gurjareśa* was Vatsarāja.[2] It being, therefore, clear that Vatsarāja was the invader of Malwa and not its ruler, it must be conceded that he could not possibly be the अवन्तिपति referred to in the verse of the Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa quoted above. These Pratihāra attacks on Malwa continued also during the reign of Vatsarāja's successor Nāgabhaṭa II who is stated to have captured a number of hill-forts in Malwa.[3]

Finally, we come to our most cogent piece of evidence against the view of Doctors Bhandarkar and Majumdar. It is a short extract from Uddyotana Sūri's *Kuvalayamāla*, a Śvetāmbara Jaina

1 See also IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 755.

2 'Ojhaji's' History of Rājputana, Vol. I, Second Edition, p. 177.

3 Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, verse 11.

work, composed five years before the completion of Jinasena's Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa. The extract is as follows.[1]

आसी तिकम्माहिरउ महादुवारम्भि खत्तिउ पयडो ।
उज्जोअणो त्ति णामं त च्चिअ परिभुंजिरे तइआ ॥
तस्स विपुत्तो संपइ णामेण वडेसरो ति पयडगुणो ।
तस्सुज्जोअणणामो तणउ अह विरइआ तेण ॥
तुंगमलंघं जिणभवणमणहरं सार (व) याउलं विसमं ।
जावालिउरं अट्ठवयं व अह अत्थि पुहईए ॥

तुंगं धवलं मणहारिरयणपसरंतघयबडाडोवं ।
उसहजिणिन्दायतणं करायियं वीरभद्देण ॥
तत्थ ठिएणं अह चोद्दसीए चेत्तस्स कण्हपक्खम्मि ॥
णिम्मविआ बोहिकरी भव्वाणं होउ सव्वाण ॥
परमडाभिउडीभंगो पणईयणरोहणो कलाचंदो ।
सिरिवच्छरायणामो रणहत्थी पत्थिवो जइआ ॥

These verses state clearly that Uddyotana Sūri, the son of Vaṭeśvara composed the work while staying in a temple of Ṛsabhadeva at Jāvālipura (modern Jalore), which was at the time ruled by the redoubtable *Raṇahastin* Vatsarāja. As this Vatsarāja is none other than the Vatsarāja of the Harivaṃśa Purāṇa, the third line of the verse given in the beginning of this paper should no longer be construed to mean that Vatsarāja was the ruler of Avanti, and ruled in the east. He was rather the ruler of Gurjaratrā, and had most probably his capital at Jalore which is not at any great distance from Bhilmāl, the capital of the Chavaḍā kings who preceded the Pratihāras as the rulers of this part of India.

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1 Mr. L. G. Gandhi's introduction to the अपभ्रंशकाव्यत्रयी, p. 89. (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

A NOTE ON FOUR PROBLEMS

given by Śrī Ratnaśekhara Sūri in his work Ācārapradīpa

BY

Prof. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

It is a well-known fact that the *Jaina* religious literature furnishes us with valuable information regarding even secular subjects.[1] So it is no wonder if we come across problems associated with ***Kalāsavarṇa***[2] in a philosophical work like *Ācārapradīpa* composed in *Saṁvat* 1516 [3] (A. D. 1460) by Ratnaśekhara Sūri, a pupil of Śrī Munisundara Sūri of the Tapā gaccha. While describing the life of king Pṛthvīpāla—a fictitious king with a view to illustrate the fruit accruing from the *ārādhanā* of *śruta-jñāna*, Ratnaśekhara narrates on p. 6[b] that each of the two *kanyakās* (virgins) was asked two questions-problems by each of the two proficient *gaṇakas* (mathematicians) as under :—

" त्र्यंह्रिषडङ्काकाँशा लोहत्रपुताम्ररजतहेमभुवि ।
षण्मणिखनौ च जग्मुः कति ते पुरुषाः कथय कन्ये ! ॥ "

[Ans. 108]

" स्वषष्ठांशं त्र्यंशं धुरि निजत्रिकांशेन सहितं
चतुर्थांशं तुर्यांशकयुतनवांशं परपदे ।
तृतीयांशेनाढ्यं ह्यधिकदशमांशं व्ययितवां-
श्चतुस्तीर्थ्यां शेषास्त्रय इह सुवर्णाः कति समे ? " ॥

[Ans. 108]

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[1] See my English introduction (p. 6) to *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* accompanied by its *bhāṣya* and Siddhasena Gaṇi's *ṭīkā* (Pt. I).

[2] See my English introduction (pp. LVII and LVIII) to *Gaṇitatilaka* and its *vṛtti* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXXVIII).

[3] Cf :—

" एषां श्रीसुगुरूणां प्रसादतः षट्कुतिथिमिते १५१६ वर्षे ।
जग्रन्थ ग्रन्थमिमं सुगमं श्रीरत्नशेखरसूरिः ॥ १२ ॥

—Colophon of *Ācārapradīpa.*

" तुर्यषष्ठाष्टमद्वादशोद्यच्चतु-
 विंशभागा युताः स्वस्वतुर्यांशकैः ।
भोजिता यात्रिकाः पञ्चभिः शेषिताः
 षोडशोपोषितास्ते समग्राः कति ? ॥ "

[Ans. 96]

' द्व्यंशत्र्यंशचतुर्थपञ्चमकषट्सप्ताष्टमांशैरहो-
 रात्रस्याथ दशांशकेन च किलाष्टाभिः प्रणालैः क्रमात् ।
या क्रीडास्पददीर्घिका जलभरैः पूर्येत तुल्यक्षणं
 मुक्तैस्तैर्वद कोविदेऽत्र कियता कालेन सा पूर्यते ? ॥ '

[Ans. 1 ghaṭī and 20 palas = $\frac{1}{45}$ day]

—*Ācārapradīpa*, pp. 6^b and 7^a

I may translate these as under :—

Oh *kanyā* ! tell me how many men there were when one-third, one-fourth, one-sixth, one-ninth and one-twelfth (of their total number) went to the mines of iron, tin, copper, silver and gold (respectively), and six went to the mine of jewels.

How many *suvarṇas* were there when some (pilgrim) spent one-third along with its one-sixth just in the first (*tīrtha*), one-fourth together with its one-third (in the second) one-ninth along with its one-fourth at the next place and one-twelfth coupled with its one-third in the last, in all in the four *tīrthas* (respectively) and thereafter 3 *suvarṇas* remained ?

(Pilgrims forming) one-fourth, one-sixth, one-eighth, one-twelfth and one-twentyfourth parts (of their total number) each accompanied by its own one-fourth were (in order) served with meals by five (co-religionists). And the remaining 16 (pilgrims) observed fasts. (So) how many were they in all ?

Oh proficient (virgin) ! tell (me) by what time that long lake meant for playing in water will be filled up with water by the eight channels simultaneously set free when it can be filled up by them in order in $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ day (respectively).

From this it will be seen that the first three problems belong to *dṛśyajāti* [1].

[1] See *Gaṇitatilaka* (pp. 41-42) and its introduction (p. LIX).

It may be added in this connection that each of the two *kanyakās* gave correct answers and showed how they were consistent by mentioning the fractional parts where necessary. Ratnaśekhara, on p. 7[a] alludes to *bhāgajāti*, the actual wording being as follows :—

" ततो गणिक(? त)शास्त्रोक्तभागजातिरीत्या करणे कृते "

This line occurs in the explanation of the last (4th) problem.

In the end I may mention that this note is written with the idea of pointing out that at least in the time of Ratnaśekhara–the 15th century A. D., it must have been a fashion to set as puzzles, problems involving ordinary arithmetical operations. I would like to know if in any earlier work, arithmetical problems are so introduced.

REVIEWS

A GRAMMAR OF THE BRAJ BHĀKHĀ by Mīrzā Khān (A. D. 1676), Visva Bharati Series No. 3, The Persian Text critically edited from original Mss., with an Introduction, Translation and Notes, together with the contents of the *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* by M. ZIAUDDIN with foreward by S. K. CHATTERJI M. A., D. Litt. (Lond.), Published by Visva-bharati Book-shop, 210 Cornawallis Street, Calcutta, Royal 8vo pp. xi + 92. Calcutta 1935, Price Rs. 4/-

The Persian work *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* (i. e., a Present from India) is a comprehensive book of singular importance: it presents in a practical and systematic manner various interesting subjects such as grammar, palmistry, dancing, music, prosody, rhetoric, lexicography etc. found in Hindī literature. Some of the Mogul rulers had realized that the strength of their rule depended mainly on their understanding and appreciating all that was best in Hindu culture. To this end even 'the home-language of the Moguls from the time of Akbar onwards was some kind of Hindī dialect-Braj, or an early form of Hindustani', though Persian was employed for official purposes. To enlighten, therefore, the Muslim aristocracy and officials Persian digests of Hindu culture were a necessity, and Mīrzā Khān successfully fulfils this need by his *Tuḥfatu-l-Hind* composed sometime before A. D. 1675. Mīrzā Khān has very well digested the contents of Hindī treatises and then presented his expositon in a systematic and practical manner. 'The *Tuḥfat* does not only postulate what Hindī works contain on the subjects concerned, but it is also a genuine and successful step towards assimilating their matter into Muslim literature and life.'

In this volume under review Mr. M. ZIAUDDIN mainly aims at a critical presentation in English of the grammar of Braj Bhākhā from the *Tuḥfat,* though he has given a useful analysis of the entire work. It is clear that Mīrzā Khān is not confined to literary Braj, but takes into account colloquial Bhākhā as well. The pronunciation of Braj words recorded by Mīrzā Khān are very interesting and show what pains he must have taken to transcribe them in Persian.

Students of Modern Indo-Aryan languages are highly thankful to Mr. M. ZIAUDDIN for his excellent presentation of the grammatic laws of Braj Bhākhā as recorded by Mīrzā Khān. In fact, it is the oldest available grammar of Braj dialect; and by this critical English rendering Mr. ZIAUDDIN has done valuable service to Indian Linguistics. We eagerly wait for his further studies on the lexicographical section of the *Tuhfat*.

A. N. Upadhye

PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON HINDI by AMBIKAPRASAD VAJPEYI (Sometime Lecturer in Hindi, National Council of Education, Bengal), Published by the University of Calcutta, Demi 8vo pp. 8-212.

The title of the book would indicate that it is a grammatical dissertation detecting and analysing the items of Persian influence on the Hindī language, but the contents show that it is much beside it, only about a dozen pages (87 etc.) being devoted to this topic. The author devotes more space to discuss the antecedents and the circumstances etc. of this influence. He outlines how, since long, India had connections with Arabia and other countries and how Persian was the court-language of many foreign rulers of India in the medieval centuries. Persian, as a member of the Aryan family, had close relation with Sanskrit, but by the adoption of Arabic character and under the influence of Arabic and Hebrew it began to look like Semitic, though 'Aryan at heart even to-day.' Hindī (also called Hindavi, Rekhtā, and Khaṛī bolī) is a descendant of Prākrits through Apabhraṁśa and its later phases like Diṅgala, Piṅgala, Braja etc. (i. e. Rājasthānī and other allied dialects). Many Muslim authors used Hindī which 'was the language current over large portion of northern India, ' with the effect that many Persian and Arabic words were introduced; and even the Persian script came to be used. Gradually this ' one single language owing to the difference in scripts was called Hindī and Urdu and as time passed the Urdu phase of Hindī drew its nourishment generally from Persian and in the end became a separate language altogether.'

Urdu is only another name of Musalmānī Hindī. Many of the Urdu poets and authors, almost ignoring Indian conditions and heritage, imported into their compositions, words, associations, situations, similes and ideas—in fact the entire cultural back-ground—from the traditions and heritage of Persia, Arabia and Turkey. The result was that the gulf between Hindī and Urdu went on widening. The difference in script kept them all the more aloof. In conclusion the author urges the study of Urdu for a better understanding of Hindī. In the Appendix (pp. 103-210) he gives a very useful alphabetical list of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words that are generally used in Hindī.

Some sections (for instance, those discussing the cultural back-ground of Urdu) are really refreshing and full of information. The fact that the book was rendered into English from Hindī might explain the popular, rather than the academic, tone seen here and there. Many statements and remarks are vague, and their contents cannot be verified as no adequate references are given. It is a mistake to suppose that the Ārṣa Prākrit of Hemacandra is based on the Ārṣa-prayogas in Sanskrit : the meaning of Ārṣa is altogether different in these two contexts.

Though the expectations raised by its title are not fully satisfied, this book serves a very useful purpose of outlining the antecedents and explaining the cultural back-grounds of Hindī and Urdu.

A. N. Upadhye

ṚGVEDA SAṀHITĀ WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SĀYAṆĀCĀRYA, vol. I Maṇḍala 1. vol. II, Maṇḍalas 2-5 Pub. by the Vedic Research Institute of Tilak Mahārāṣṭra University, Poona 1933, 1936. Price Rs. 12/- for each volume. pp. 19 + 1115 + 2; 46 + 998 + 2,

The *editio princeps* of the Ṛgveda and Sāyaṇa's commentary on it appeared in Oxford for the first time under the able editorship of Max Müller between 1849 and 1875 and a second and much improved edition in 1890-91. There was also a Bombay edition of this truly colossal commentary, but both are out of print. Whatever copies that come in the market are able to fetch an incredibly high price. It was therefore proper for an Indian body of scholars to come forward and form itself into a band of willing explorers in finding new significant Mss. material for the purpose of a more scientific edition of *Sāyaṇabhāṣya.* And it is certainly significant that the Vedic Research Institute of Poona is such a body working under the aegis of the Mahārāṣṭra University which bears the name of one of the greatest Vedic Scholars of Western India.

The Vedic Research Institute was founded in memory of the late lamented Lokamānya Bāl Gangādhar Ṭilak on the 1st of August 1928 with the object of providing facilities for higher studies in Vedic Literature and for higher research in Mss. material both of the Saṁhitās and of commentaries on these. As a first step it was decided to bring out a new, critical and scientific edition of Sāyāṇa's great commentary on the Ṛgveda, for which purpose new Mss. were collated from different sources. Both Max Müller's and Bombay editions were also utilized for the purpose of restitution of the text.

The first volume covering the introduction of the *Bhāṣya* and the first *Maṇḍala* of the Saṁhitā appeared in 1933; the second volume covering *Maṇḍalas* 2-5 was published in December 1936, bringing the entire material so far to half the Saṁhitā portion. Considering the extent of the text, the new material utilized and the few faithful scholars working in the field, the progress so far

shown is nothing short of wonderful. The Institute is to be congratulated on their silent but efficient and rapid progress.

The typography has been well adjusted. In bold thick type with accent marks the *Saṁhitā* text is first given, followed by a smaller and less thick type giving the *Pada* text. This again is followed by Sāyaṇa's commentary; here all Vedic words are indicated by a superior V to the left of the words, but unfortunately without accent marks. All quotations are traced to their sources.

In choosing readings the editors have given due importance to the authenticity of the Mss.; every reading is thus based on Mss. or printed editions, and the editors have rightly adopted the principle of interpretation rather than that of emendation. Thus readings based on even a single Ms. have been adopted as opposed to those in a larger number of less important Mss. As a result we have in the two volumes before us a better and more reliable text of Sāyaṇa's commentary than any hitherto published. Of course there is another edition which is in course of publication under the auspices of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, containing besides the above commentary, extracts from other ancient Indian commentators. But when all is said and done, the Vedic Research Institute of Poona has given us a better account so far, and the Tilak University has every reason to feel proud of the achievement so far realised. It is the ardent wish of all true scholars to see the remaining volumes published in this gigantic task; and for this men and money are both needed. Financially the task of the Institute has not been very successful. But it is to be hoped that in these days of national reconstruction the ancient cultural heritage of India will hava a better recognition from the new governments than under the old regime.

A few observations and suggestions *apropos* the work will not be out of place here. Though the slender financial condition of the Vedic Research Institute has been taxed very much, it should not find it difficult to publish the accented *Saṁhitā* and *Pada* texts side by side as in Max Müller's edition which is now out of print. This will be a useful adjunct to the major work and be a means of popularising Vedic studies in general and Ṛgvedic studies in particular in India. A similar observation holds good for the other Vedic Saṁhitās.

It is with great pleasure and full good wishes that we take leave of these two magnificent volumes covering half of Ṛgveda, with the expectation of seeing the rapid publication of the remaining Maṇḍalas, and looking forward to reviewing them in the pages of these *Annals.* The Tilak Mahārāṣṭra University and its Vedic Research Institute have done inestimable service to the cause of Indian Studies by their sustained effort and keen critical acumen and deserve every encouragement from the Indian public, governments and princes in particular.

S. M. Katre

LINGUISTIQUE HISTORIQUE et LINGUISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE, Tome II par A. MEILLET. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 11 Rue de Lille, 1936. Pp. xiii, 235.

This second volume containing the general articles written by Antoine MEILLET, was originally intended to celebrate the 70th birthday of the author himself on the 11th November 1936. We share the regrets of the Editors (MM. VENDRYES, BLOCH and BENVENISTE) in the irreparable loss to the linguistic world in the death of the most celebrated Master in Europe on the 21st of September 1936, even before the volume could be presented to him. It had been intended as a contribution on the occasion to present him with a selection of his own published articles. Though the object as such was unfortunately beyond fulfilment we can identify ourselves with the editors in their " hope that the volume will at least serve to perpetuate and at the same time be a permanent testimony to the gratitude and admiration one feels for the living thought of the departed Master."

It would be futile to describe the greatness of ANTOINE MEILLET ; only those who have studied under him, or at least followed his thought in the numerous books, studies and published articles, not only by himself, but also by his pupils (whose work was entirely due to his inspiration and guidance) can realise the magnitude of his attainment, character and scholarship. Whatever subject he touched was turned to gold, richly informed with so critical an insight and expressed in language that even a child

could understand. More than others he was chiefly responsible for popularising so difficult a subject as Linguistics and making it an absorbing study instead of a dry-as-dust work.

Among the general articles special mention may be made of the following: The concrete character of words (pp. 9–23), On the general terminology of morphology (29–35), Introduction to the classification of languages (53–69), Linguistics and Anthropology (84-89), The effects of changes in language (104–112), etc. In the last part of the work we have MEILLET'S considered views on the works of RENAN, FERDINAND de SAUSSURE, VILHELM THOMSEN, ROBERT GAUTHIOT, LOUIS HAVET. MAURICE. GAHEN MICHEL and BRÉAL. There are some articles dealing with the French language in particular which are of great interest.

In view of the unexpected passing away of the Master, the Editors might have given us a brief life-sketch and a full bibliography in addition to the beautiful photograph which adorns the volume. Even as it is, it is a fitting tribute to his genius, and these short articles will not only keep his memory fresh and his thought living, but they will also inspire young aspirants to linguistic honour by the richness of their suggestion. The book deserves an honoured place on the linguist's shelf.

S. M. Katre